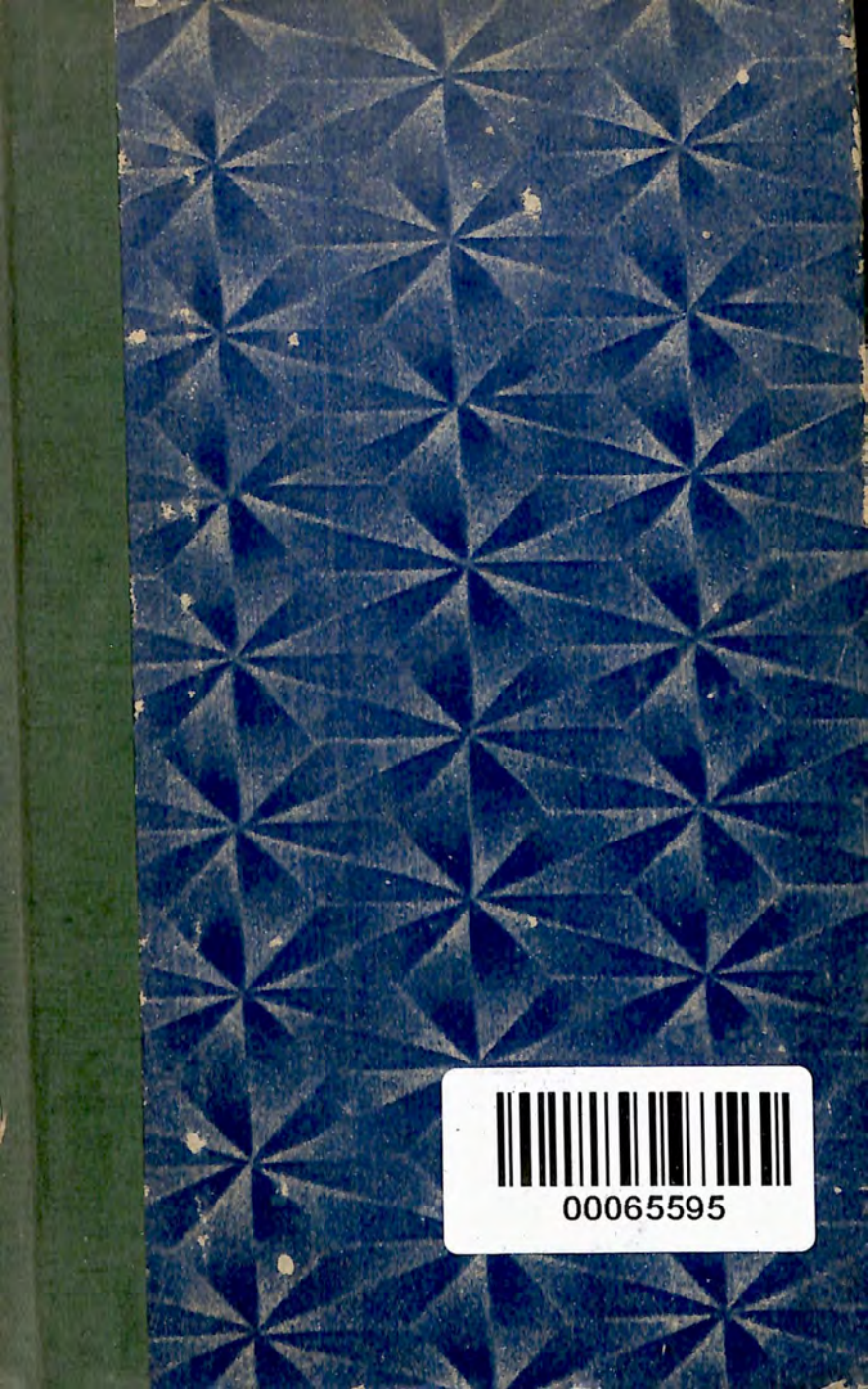
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German Literature

By

Wolfgang Menzel.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, WITH NOTES BY THOMAS GORDON.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

EDUCATION[1].

OUR present system of education comprehends within it three different principles; that of habit, that of political expediency, and that of philosophical optimism. Its organs are, therefore, likewise threefold: old established habit prevails in families; the public schools and universities now serve a political end, while in former times they were of more service to the church; lastly, optimism has produced seminaries for private education; at present each asserts its own claims, without caring for the rights of others. As in our age everything is chaotic, as all religious creeds, all philosophical and political opinions

[1] *Pädagogik*, the science of education.

On the subject of this chapter I would refer my reader for further information to Victor Cousin's Rapport.

Report on the state of Public Instruction in Prussia (English, by Mrs. Austin, 1834); and also to the Review of the original work in the Edin. Rev. vol. 57; and in the Foreign Quart. Rev. vol. 12.

swim here intermingled in that great jelly[2] which the ancients prophetically foresaw in the north, so in education all elements are now confusedly fermenting among one another. The historical progress, however, followed a more consistent path. At first education was entirely conducted by families; then it came into the hands of the church; at a later period, all the monastic schools became state institutions; and, at last, these conservative institutions have, again, in the reforming spirit of modern times, been supplanted by private schools.

The family life has ever been accounted sacred by us Germans. From it, in all ages, has proceeded the better spirit, which restored the value of whatever had been corrupted by means of more extensive social, ecclesiastical, and political institutions, or by the imitation of foreigners. The family life has from the earliest period been the guardian of German freedom, defending it from the licentious retinues of the nobles and the servile feelings produced by their conduct. The encroachments of the papacy in the departments of education, morals, and inclinations, were, even when it had become nearly all-powerful, successfully opposed by the love of the Germans for the house. Though the Romish church claimed a part of the population as its exclusive servants, it permitted the others to take their own way. That school-learning which extended its influence even among the

[2] *Lebermeer.* That dead stagnant sea, of a thick consistency, which the ancients supposed surrounded the north pole, and lay beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

laity, and enthralled the whole body of the young, did not arise until after, and in consequence of, the Reformation. Since that time, the family, and along with it, the general education of the whole man, has been put into the back-ground, while its place has been occupied by the school, accompanied by instruction, the onesided training of the intellect, in which heart and body are quite neglected.

The full effects of this unnatural onesidedness, against which a reaction already powerful has commenced, were soon unfolded; but it has caused the present age to feel its tortures, and it probably will not quite spare the next.

In opposition to the scholastics, who ignorantly, tastelessly, and shamelessly perverted and choked with additions simple Christianity, almost in the same way as the jurists did the law, all bold and elevated spirits devoted themselves shortly before the Reformation to *humanism;* that is, to humane, universally human (not merely theological) studies, and in particular to the study of the Greek language, with the double view, partly of re-establishing, by means of philological investigations into the Greek Testament, the simplicity of the Christian doctrine, and thus freeing it from the admixtures of the scholastics; partly of extracting from the classic Greek authors the lost acquaintance with that highly-cultivated people, and an immense quantity of useful information: this was very praiseworthy. The reformation commenced by these humanists was victorious; the humanists were no longer the opponents of the church,

they now ruled in the church; they consequently became a little priest-like.

The protestant schools got an undeniable theological tinge. In the universities the theological faculty tolerated beside itself, only those of law and medicine, which, for company's sake, theologised not a little; the philosophical faculty did not emancipate itself till the time of Thomasius, in the eighteenth century. Theology, however, exercised a still greater influence over the inferior schools, in which the village schoolmasters whipped into their dear pupils nothing but the Lutheran or Heidelberg catechism.

The influence of theology is chiefly visible in that official outlawry pronounced by the school and the church against the human body. The body was looked upon as an armoury of the devil, as a collection of all possible defects and vices; people took pleasure in calling it "food for worms," a "whited sepulchre;" in innumerable sermons, moral writings, and metaphorical allegories (which were all the rage during the seventeenth century), it was represented under the characteristic figure of an ass, which, contending with heavenly *Sapientia*, sometimes sits proudly at the master's luxurious table whilst poor *Sapientia* stands hungry at the door; at others, is driven with terrible blows from the table, and compelled to make way for the body: this was the universal notion entertained respecting the body, and it was one very closely connected with the customs of the age. After the invention of gunpowder, bodily strength came to be looked upon as super-

fluous; the nobles, who had formerly frequented the tilt-yard, now gave themselves up to slothful vices. The princes, especially the protestant ones, led the way by their bad example; for having after the Reformation become quite independent of the pope, and nearly so of the emperor, they no longer recognised as their superior any censor of morals, but gave themselves up to the most brutal excesses; they drank so excessively that they had to decree in open Diet, that it was necessary to become a little more moderate on this point, so as not to give the world too much offence. They built country seats, and peopled them with mistresses; the old burly country squires became an effeminate set of courtiers; the burghers too laid aside their arms and became Philistines with well-lined paunches; the enslaved peasantry long knew nothing but their *Eulenspiegel*[3]; thus it came to pass that the human body was looked upon as nothing but an eating and drinking machine: indecencies both in words and actions were the order of the day, as is proved by the whole literature for two hundred years after Luther. The theologians had now a

[3] Tyll Eulenspiegel, who, according to tradition, lived during the first half of the 14th century. He died about the year 1350, at the village of Mollen near Lubeck, where he was buried, and where the curious antiquarian may still see his tombstone, upon which is engraven an owl (*eulen*) and a mirror or glass (*spiegel*). Not long since there stood a tree by his grave, which was looked upon as almost sacred by journeymen artisans, each of whom, to show his respect for the illustrious dead, drove a nail into it, so that the tree soon became as if covered with a coat of mail. Eulenspiegel is the prototype of all knavish and trickish fellows,

fair opportunity of degrading for its vices the body, the virtues of which were now never thought of. Though in former, and more energetic times, the old German painters were pleased to adopt the well-known Nazarenian[4] meagreness, and to make the corporeal as ugly and spectral-looking as possible, in order to allow the spiritual alone to

so that he like Joe Miller, is held accountable for many things which he never said. His tricks very soon became generally known; even so early as 1419 they are mentioned by Brandt in his Ship of Fools, another strange production of the middle ages. They seem to have been composed at first in *Platt-Deutsch*, and translated into *Hoch-Deutsch* about the beginning of the 16th century, probably by Thomas Mürner: certain it is, the first edition is in this latter dialect, and bears date, Strasburg, 1517, 4to. Since that time editions innumerable have been published, and Tyll now joins the holy Genevra and the beautiful Melusina, &c., in forming the German *Volksbücher*.

We have two translations of the work in English. The first is by Copland, and is entitled, The merie Jeste of a Man that was called Howleglas; the other, the German Rogue, or the Life and merry Adventures, Cheats, Stratagems, and Contumacies of Tiel Eulespiegle.

"Let none Eulespiegle's artifices blame,
For rogues in every country are the same:"

made English from the High Dutch, 1709. There are also translations of the work into every European language.

[4] As this term occurs several times in the course of the third volume it may be necessary to explain its origin. The painters of the middle ages; especially those before Albrecht Dürer, (though neither he nor Louis Kranarl, gave up the custom altogether,) were in the habit of representing the Saviour, in their pictures of the crucifixion, as very thin and meagre, in consequence of his sufferings. The term Nazarenian was applied at first to this style of painting, but it came in aftertimes to mean any style which devoted but little attention to the bodily appearance of the object represented.

shine forth; yet, in a later and more corrupt age, the body which had become really degraded by luxury and vices, lost far more of due importance, and was given up as a prey to zealots.

The consequence of this was that the schools did not pay the slightest attention to the education and culture of the body, but rather expressly endeavoured to enervate it, even during youth, by causing the young to sit and brood over books, so that they might not become presumptuous. They wished *Sapientia* to rule alone; the ass was therefore unmercifully beaten, and left to starve in a dark corner. No one ever dreamed that the body and mind had equal claims, that there ought to be a contemporaneous and harmonious culture of both: the body being the despised Pariah, and the mind the alone sacred Brahmin, a fellow-feeling between the two was deemed impossible.

The theological element thus predominated in the protestant schools and universities. As soon, however, as the storms of the Reformation had passed away, as soon as the worldly-minded courts, the industrious citizen, and the now peaceful agriculturist—as soon as the laity in general, having laid aside their fanaticism, refused to take any further share in theological controversies, the protestant theologians veered round with the wind. The state having supplanted the church, jurisprudence now took the place of theology, and even the theological faculty itself was smitten with a desire to meddle in politics and law. It no longer disputed about the mere doc-

trines of the church, but so much the more eagerly on the questions, which creed was the best tool, the most trust-worthy servant to temporal sovereignty. It next interfered with the civil administration of justice, by supporting witchcraft and raking the witch-fires, which now, for the first time, became very numerous.

The church and the schools, however, were not destined to be ruined on these by-ways, though matters had certainly gone a considerable length. They had weathered the first trials of servilism, of denunciation; of police officiousness, in short, of political hydrophobia. It would not, it is true, have been of much consequence to the great majority of the professors and school-inspectors of that age, though everything sacred, though all knowledge had been overwhelmed by a new protestant scholasticism, which in barbarous Latin, like that of the old scholasticism, inculcated a yet more godless system of darkness.

Thomasius[5], who is not yet sufficiently known or valued, rose to free his country from this pernicious infliction. He was the greatest spirit of his age; he penetrated its defects with wonderful acuteness and clearness; he is known only by his victory over superstition, and by having effected the abolition of the witch-trials. His other attempts are mostly forgotten, because he could not carry them through in his poor pitiful age. Yet we are indebted to him for the triumph of

[5] Christian Thomasius, b. Leipzig, 1655, d. 1728. Monthly Gossip about Books; Rational Christian Thoughts on all Subjects; History of Wisdom and Folly.

the German over the Latin language, in classic literature; for the elevation of the philosophical faculty above those of theological, law, and medicine; and thereby, at the same time, for the victory of the liberty of studying and thinking over the servilism which had even then crept in; for the boundless unfolding of those scientific ideas which still slumbered in the germ, which could now burst forth, in consequence of the ancient triple wall of the three ruling faculties having been broken through by that of philosophy. Thomasius wished to go still further; he wished to abolish all distinctions between the faculties; he believed that there ought to be only one universal culture; he wished to see the ossified slaves of the church and of the state again turned into free and natural men.

Having ventured to reject, with great scorn, the doctrine then prevailing among the Protestants, that everything emanating from the princes of this world, emanated directly from God, and that therefore all princes ought to become Lutherans, his life and liberty were endangered. Prior to the time of the prelate Pfaff of Tübingen, the court chaplain (*Ober-hof-prediger*) Masius, of Copenhagen, was the leading defender of this servile doctrine. In opposition to him, Thomasius wrote as follows: "I am of opinion that it is improper in any one to recommend his religion to temporal potentates by its temporal advantages. It is one thing to assure true religion of being opposed to the interests of the community, it is

another, to argue that it, in and of itself, promotes the worldy advantages of the noble. The former is evidently false; therefore the fathers of the primitive church have, in as far as this point is concerned, pleaded in favour of the Christian religion. But from thence the latter does not follow: true religion aims only at the eternal well-being. This, however, is not necessarily connected with the temporal, even putting out of view that temporal interest is a mere wax word, which every one may twist and mould to suit his own individual fancy." But such language was not at that time permitted. Thomasius, with great difficulty, escaped from Leipzig, where the authorities were preparing to throw him into prison, and where they, after his escape, confiscated all his property. At Copenhagen his writings were burnt as treasonable; for no one was to be allowed to doubt that what emanated from the king of Denmark, emanated also from God. And how was Thomasius rescued? Even by the influence of a prince. The first king of Prussia, living in a state of natural opposition to Austria and Saxony, attempted, by every means in his power, to neutralize the influence of these states upon Germany. This was the reason that Pufendorf was permitted to ridicule the constitution of the empire; that Thomasius was called to Halle to oppose a new Prussian learning to that of Saxony, which was at that time surpassed by none. For the same reason the pietist Franke, the true friend of Thomasius, his companion in

strife and suffering, was set up as a celebrated Prussiann ovelty in opposition to the dismantled Saxon churches.

The good which Thomasius intended now prospered under the protection of the Prussian interest; and though the influence of his independent spirit extended but a little way, yet this was effected by the German language, which he had introduced into the sciences, and by the animation which he imparted to all the free studies of mind, of history, and of nature, connected with the philosophical faculty. The first time he delivered a lecture in German, the hair of every professor in Germany stood on end, and every one exclaimed against him. Luther had written his nervous, masculine German in vain; all the theologians, jurists, all scholars, even the poets-laureate (*gekrönte Poeten*) again wrote in Latin, and only the frivolous verse-makers of the Silesian school of poets were pardoned their wretched German: therefore the university of Leipzig, in 1685, declared it "a dreadful *crimen*, and one never before heard of so long as the university had existed" that Thomasius had lectured in German. The students ran away from the first lecture because it was too liberal for their taste. The poor fools had no notion of truth and nature, far less of what was formerly denominated German frankness. The students were in this wretched condition, and they would have remained so, had not the noble mind of Thomasius gradually had an effect upon the poor wretches.

Persecuted by the hatred of his colleagues,

unsupported by the students in consequence of their want of spirit, Thomasius could effect nothing in Leipzig, except by a periodical, which, being the first ever written in German, had a large circulation through the whole of Germany, and in which he declared war against the whole learned nonsense of his age. He passed it off as a conversation held between a practical merchant, a diplomatising cavalier, a profound scholar, and an orthodox blockhead,—the representative of all the book-learning of his age. Even this form showed that he wished to lead back learning to nature and to practical life, and to cast down the wall of separation which existed between the Latin scholars and the rest of the German nation. Afterwards, when in Halle, he endeavoured, by means of popular writings, to obtain a larger audience than that to which he delivered lectures in the university; he therefore wrote his philippic against the witch-trials; his "Doctrine of Reason" (*Vernunft lehre*); an excellent pamphlet on the state, which was intended to diffuse more correct notions on the subject, by a publication against the use of torture: a work which, unfortunately, had but little effect, &c.

Though he made good the principle of a general and German culture, in opposition to one merely professional and Latin,—a principle which, at an after period at least, was victorious, yet it must not be forgotten that he, as the friend and counsellor of the celebrated Franke[6], who was like-

[6] Aug. Herman Franke, born at Lübeck, 23rd March, 1663,

wise of Halle, had, in all probability, a great influence in the development of his pedagogical ideas; and this circumstance will probably explain why Franke introduced for the first time into his Halle Orphan-house the so-called *Realia* (objects of instruction for use in practical life, German and other modern languages, history, geography, and natural history, in opposition to the *humanism*, which cherished only the dead languages)—an example, at that time imitated by none. The jesuits alone promoted, in addition to their scholasticism, as many of the *Realia*, in particular, mathematics and mechanics, as suited their political views.

Half a century elapsed ere the ideas of Thomasius were generally adopted; and even this did not take place without many troublesome transitions. People, indeed, saddled themselves with all sorts of philosophical knowledge, in addition to the professional study (*Brod-studium*) of the three faculties; but the pedantry of learning merely passed over from these to the philosophical faculties. Scholasticism changed nothing but its object. Logomachia, which formerly devoted itself to doctrines, now occupied itself with the classics, with grammar, with history, with royal

died 8th June, 1727, founder of the Halle orphan-house: upon the gate of which stood the following motto:

"Fremdling was du erblickst, hat Glaub' und Liebe vollendet
Ehre den stiftenden Geist, glaubend und liebend wie Er."

"Stranger, what thou beholdest was perfected by faith and love:
Honour the spirit which founded it, believing and loving like it."

genealogies, with etymological investigations, with a countless number of new-learned toyings. The general characteristic of this learned period, which comprehends even a part of the latter half of last century, was *Polyhistory*[7], stupendous erudition! learning *en detail* without critical knowledge or comprehensive views.

While the schools were inundated with this mass of learning, they suffered at the same time from the personal pedantry of the teachers. Science did not accommodate itself to the aims of the school; it was not suited for the capabilities and wants of the young, nor was it taught simply and intelligibly by men who had a liking for it. As government, in appointing men to situations, looked first, it is true, to their servilism in matters connected with church and state, but next, to a stupendous and ever-increasing erudition, the young were intrusted to men, who, though they did not prosecute learning merely as a manufacture, and affectedly, but were really great investigators, were yet but seldom fitted to be the instructers of the young, precisely on account of

[7] This term, which is now very common in Germany, and which I have retained, as we have no corresponding word, was first used about the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, when it became common for scholars to acquire as much knowledge as possible of every kind, without order, without system, or without any other purpose in view but that of knowing. At a later period, Polyhistory fell in public estimation, to be in consequence of people becoming aware that it was better profoundly acquainted with *one* science, than to have a smattering of *all*. Some Polyhisters, however, were very distinguished scholars; Casaubon, Salmasius, &c. &c.

their learned occupations, and of that love of solitude peculiar to thinkers. Governments still commit this mistake. Appointments are always filled with a crowd of scholars, men who are merely thinkers and investigators, who are fitted only for solitary studies, whose character and habits, methods and systems, are quite unfitted for the young, who cannot disentangle themselves from their studies, which are commonly too high or too low for the young, and always too confused and unpractical to permit them to communicate to the young that little which suits their tender age; who look upon the school as a torture, and who are either the butt or the torment of their pupils.

When the former of the two elements, erudition and schools for the young, which compose this unnatural union, began about the beginning of last century to prevail, it unfolded itself to its whole extent in utter disregard of the aims and ends of education. Erudition, as such, having made great progress, began, after it had in polyhistory extended its sway over all the branches of knowledge, to purify itself by criticism from the human errors, against which, mere collecting industry had not hitherto been sufficiently on its guard. Criticism, however, again attached itself almost entirely to the form, not to the substance; to the letter, not to the spirit.

Philology, as a mere science founded upon language, became the all-in-all of the schools: it consequently did almost as much injury to education, as outward observances did to the worship of God. As in the latter case true devotion is

choked by mere mechanical ceremonies, so in the former is true thinking,—real culture, by the mechanical repetition of mere forms. I do not deny the necessity of philology, the great influence which it exercises upon thinking; but a boundary must be drawn, beyond which the mind must be nourished not with forms, but with substance. Do not the majority of philologists, when illustrating the classics, look only to the grammar, allude only casually and in wretched notes to the spirit, the beauty, the historical, philosophical, or æsthetical contents of these ancients? Look at their editions;—have the hundreds and thousands who have edited and commented upon the Greek poets, elucidated the tenth part of what Schlegel alone has expressed? Do all these learned loads outweigh the few volumes of a Wieland, a Lessing, a Herder, and a Winkelmann? And often as philologists have treated of antiquity, is not much of its beauty still lost to the public, in consequence of but few independent thinkers and bold spirits having interested themselves in it? The field of philology is boundless; it has therefore always remained proportionally unfruitful. The great number of men and institutions employed in furthering philology, and who have thus been withdrawn from the other sciences, has not been of so much advantage as might have been expected.

Philology is the mean to attain the end, an acquaintance with the other sciences; but the means have too often become the end. We should learn the old languages, in order to understand the

contents transmitted to us in them; but philologists consider these contents as nothing but a necessary evil, without which the language cannot exist; and treat the old classics, as if their beautiful and noble thoughts had been intended only as the means of applying the rules of grammar. Every ancient author is, in their eyes, only an individual collection of examples of the rules of grammar. We ought to read the classics, in order to live thereby; but the philologists think we ought to live only in order to read the classics.

Philology has lately been discovered to be an excellent method of counteracting the political aberrations of the young. It has been found that nothing cools the fiery zeal and trains it to blind obedience, so much as this philology, which chains the soaring genius to the book-case, and occupies the acute intellect with the rules of grammar, the spirit of innovation with conjectures. All the elasticity of the mind is lost under the weight of letters. The youth who always sits, must at last forget how to rise. All freedom is stifled under the burden of quotations and authorities. The young, who do nothing but read and commit to memory, must at last forget how to think. All true culture is prevented by the onesided pursuit of the mere forms of philology. The young who never learn aught but words and forms, will never become acquainted with the substance. They are thrust into school, and there subjected to philological drilling. Most of them look upon this drilling as a torment, office as the only means of liberation; they, therefore, study only for the examination

(*examen*), and try to cram into their heads as much philological knowledge as it will hold, troubling themselves, however, as little as possible about the substance, because an acquaintance with the letter alone is required of them.

In this manner the greatest minutiæ of grammar became the chief occupation of our learned schools. As if there were nothing of more importance in the world, school-pedants contended about the most useless philological trifles, and compelled the great mass of the young to do homage to this enthusiasm for that which was absolutely nothing. Not only all the realia,—the German language, mathematics, history, geography and natural sciences, gymnastics, and even religion,—were all neglected; and all the time and all the attention of the pupils were devoted exclusively to the dead languages. I am sure that many of my readers must remember, that the philologists, the teachers of Greek and Latin in the *gymnasia*[8], exercised such a tyranny, that they appropriated almost every hour to themselves, making over all the other departments to subordinate and despised teachers, so that these departments might at least stand in the lists. They must remember, that the grossest carelessness and neglect was overlooked when it related to these shelved departments, and that blunders against Buttmann, Thiersch, and

[8] *Gymnasia* in Germany are much like our grammar schools in England. In them are taught languages, ancient and modern, mathematics, &c. &c.

Grotefend were the faults which were looked upon as sacrilege. Nothing was required of the scholars, but to understand and imitate the niceties of the Attic and Ciceronian style, the difficulties of Pindar and Plautus. The chief aim of philology in almost every German gymnasium was, to train scholars who could produce a Greek or Latin exercise so interwoven and refined with artificial difficulties that the very mouths of the professors watered at the sight. Under the pretext that the reading of the pupils must be little, but good, they kept by a few classics, of which scarcely a single one was strictly enough parsed in several years. Yet the pupils, notwithstanding the eternal Greek and Latin, notwithstanding the eternal classicism, had never the advantage of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the classics. That this folly is not yet entirely done away with, is proved by the Bavarian school-plan[9] (*schul-plan*), the first of which (afterwards modified, it is true) was to make the whole of Bavaria, Greek—and that before there was any talk of the election of king Otho I. This Bavarian school-plan excited the whole wrath of the dominant philologists against the oppressed but resisting realists.

These stupid philologists have no right to the title of humanists. Humanism was something quite different; it tended to an universal human culture; the dead languages were looked upon by it as a means, not as an end. This new *grammato-mania*, however, considers the language as

[9] See Letters on Education in Germany, by G. P. R. James.

its sole end; in the dead languages, only that which is rare, peculiar, or difficult.

A pedant, for instance, to whom the guidance of an extensive celebrated gymnasium was intrusted, hunted only after rare subjunctives, and had got a precious collection of them. As soon as the pupils opened Plato, Thucydides, or Tacitus, a general bush-beating commenced throughout the whole numerous class. No mention was made of the godlike ideas of Plato, of the profound political philosophy of Thucydides or Tacitus; subjunctives alone were hunted after, and entomologically arranged, like rare cockchafers.

That real-philology, which, though occupying itself with the dead languages, seeks to become acquainted not only with the language, but also with its contents, the matter, must be considered as a return from these mere grammatical vagaries to pure humanism. These real-philologists, incited by Winkelmann's artistical studies, and by the historical inquiries then carried on, next formed the science of archæology,—the historical and technical knowledge of ancient monuments, customs, art, religion, etc.; and as it was soon discovered that everything connected with the heathenism of ancient times, as well as with modern Christianity, must ultimately be referred to religion, the study of mythology and of symbols soon became general, and for a considerable time kept sole possession of the schools, in conjunction with grammatical trifling: this is still to a great extent the case.

The more interesting the explanation of the

old myths was, in consequence of the object itself, the more complicated and bombastic did it become in consequence of the pedantry and trifling of the learned, which had now become to them a sort of second nature. Where there were no difficulties, they bestirred themselves to create them. The school, the young, were compelled to take an interest in the whole of the monstrous metamorphoses of the study of mythology. Every new hypothesis was forced upon the schools; anything new or interesting to science advanced by Heyne of Gottingen, Creuzer of Heidelberg, etc., was immediately disseminated by their pupils through hundreds of gymnasia, as a matter properly belonging to the school, and therefore fitted for the young.

I consider this folly as still more pernicious than the grammatical one. Nothing is more intolerable to the young than what is confused or obscure. No object by which the sexual instinct is awakened is fitted for that age. It is time enough to be initiated into the mysteries of the ancients when people are older, and feel inclined to devote particular attention to these subjects. It is as improper as pernicious to instruct the young in such things during that period in which their mental faculties are unfolding. Young people never look to the pure symbol, but merely to the impure type; they never participate in the seriousness of their instructers, they only laugh at, and corrupt their imagination with, the strange images of the heathens. What is the purpose of all this? The German school-pedantry alone, of

the eighteenth century, could produce this abuse, and only the foolish submission of the nineteenth can maintain it, for mythology is now become fashionable.

The reaction of sound common sense began in Germany with Thomasius and Franke, but it could make little progress; on the contrary, the full blow of the school-nonsense did not take place till a much later period. Had not the fashionable world been at that very time, smitten with the Gallo-mania, had not each of our electors and other princes erected his miniature Versailles, had not the German nobles been regularly educated in Paris, had not Germany been inundated with French literature, had not Rousseau arisen in France, to teach the new religion and political system of nature, had not this new fashion migrated like every other from France into Germany, there can be little doubt that, in spite of Thomasius and Franke, we should again have been obliged to yield to the Latin barbarism of the schools. But Rousseau being the fashionable author in France, became consequently the same in Germany: Rousseau inculcated natural love, in opposition to ecclesiastical and civil marriages, thus indirectly favouring the immorality of the French court and nobility, and thus also being enabled, under the mantle of vice, to preach virtue with some security. In France, and consequently also in Germany, his noble sentiments were pardoned for the sake of his immorality.

This Rousseau wished, humanity to divest it-

self of all those rags of church, state, morals, art, dress, &c., which had been by degrees heaped upon it, and for the future to go naked, in order to be again educated *ab ovo* in accordance with his directions. This desire, though foolish, was quite natural. Rousseau having appealed from corrupt to incorrupt human nature, that is, to the young, had little to do but to purify this nature from all impure and unnatural admixtures, barbarism or over-culture, to free man from all his historical, national, and social habits, to divest him of his tie-periwig and hoop-petticoats, and to lead him back naked into Paradise. At this point a sweeping reform must always begin. The old must be pulled down before the new is built; and we must go to the root of the evil if we wish to destroy it thoroughly. We may now smile at many of Rousseau's strange opinions, and may ridicule his idea of men again creeping on all-fours; but we must confess, that he, in his age, and, in consequence of his position as a reformer, opposed to the countless abuses and corruptions which existed in France, which was at that time poisoned to the core with despotism, was compelled by a natural necessity to embrace the opposite extreme. Rousseau, consequently, pictured to us a regenerated primitive man, naked, creeping on all-fours, without any will of his own, but susceptible of every kind of instruction and culture. The German pedagogues who adopted Rousseau's opinions, made it, after the time of Basedow, their chief business to impart to man this culture.

Basedow[1] erected in Dessau his Philanthropin, in which he, following the plan of Rousseau, endeavoured to form a new mankind, by a peculiar method of treatment. He made an immense noise; but his charlatanism having prevented the accomplishment of that real good which he intended, the schools were not reformed by him, because he threw away the child with the bath. Scorned, ridiculed (especially in the comic novel, Spitzbart, by Schummel, of Breslau), his institution decayed; yet he had given an impulse. Practical men succeeded him, who were better able to go through with the business; yet we must allow to him the glory of having been the first who wished, in independent private institutions, not only to cherish the *Realia* and *gymnastics*, but also to improve the methods of instruction, and, above all, to train up teachers, a thing almost more necessary than to educate pupils.

What he, as a fanatic, had boastingly undertaken but not executed, was attained by the practical, moderate, and modest Salzmann[2] of Schnepfen-

[1] Johann Bernhard Basedow, born at Hamburg, Sept. 11th, 1723; died at Magdeburg, July 25th, 1790. Miscellaneous Writings on Philosophy and Education; Elementary Works for the Pupils of his Philanthropin; Theoretical System of sound Reason; Practical Philosophy for all ranks. *Philanthropin* was the name which he gave the establishments for education conducted according to his views.

[2] Christian Gotthelf Salzmann, born June 1st, 1744; died Oct. 3rd, 1811. Amusements for Children and Children's Friends; many elementary works for the pupils, and an account of his institution of Schnepfenthal.

thal, whose model-school was the pattern of all succeeding ones. In his once famous Karl von Karlsberg, or Human Misery, he denounces the unnatural and unwholesome fashions and customs of the periwig-period with such a degree of medical and pedagogical accuracy, that this book must always be a valuable one to those who undertake to write a history of customs. He could not, it is true, cure his cotemporaries of their disease; this was not effected till the time of the French Revolution. His institution continued in existence, but it remained for a considerable time isolated. The school-pedants continued to rule without restraint in the public institutions, and no new private institutions arose.

Rousseau's spirit continued to live more in the world of paper, than in that of reality. There arose authors for children, who wished to impart to the German youth, under the form of reading-books (*Lesebücher*) and Christmas presents, what the school did not supply to them. Gellert had placed his excellent fables in the hands of children, smuggling them in by means of his religious proverbs and songs. The school pardoned, in the pious hymn-maker, some merry cheerful jests, which it would have forgiven in no other. The path being thus paved for a light popular tone in instructing children, the adherents of Rousseau entered upon it with eagerness, in order to flatter the parents and children by writings for the young, and thus to spread themselves over a territory independent of the school. Rochow entertained nobler opinions than any of the others: he wrote

a Children's Friend, for children of all ranks: but it fared ill with his work in those times of despotism and fashionable unnaturalness. His book never reached the peasant; and it even began to be looked upon as a settled thing, that the question could be only in regard to the children of the educated classes. They had no objection to leave the peasant-boy in his filth and ignorance, provided the dear little town-boys, and the little squires and counts, partook of the humanity of Rousseau. At that time Weisse of Leipzig wrote his prosy Children's Friend for his well-frizzed children, and Campe[3] his Robinson Crusoe, that new Bible for the children of the educated classes, and many other books for children, in which the *realia*, nature, history, geography, were taught in an entertaining and popular manner. Campe deserves great praise, and he cannot be made to answer for the extravagances of his foolish imitators. He wished not merely to amuse children, but also to instruct them in that way which was most easy, pleasant, and effectual to themselves, and to instruct them only in those things which could be of practical use to them in after-life. He therefore divided his instruction into rules for the moral and physical conduct of life, on the one hand, and into *realia*, instruction in those objects of nature and history, which are most generally useful, on the other. His only faults

[3] Johann Heinrich Campe, born 1746; died Oct. 22nd, 1818. Dictionary of the German Language; Robinson the Younger; Collection of Writings for the Young.

were, that he sometimes used too many words; and his conversational tone, which was excellently fitted for oral instruction, was not quite suited for books. The reading of the young should be objective, clear, unencumbered, and precise; it should be the matter itself, never a talk about the matter; "about it, and about it."

Campe's influence was boundless: without his assistance the realia could never have become of so much importance as to demand to be placed at least on an equal footing with the dead languages. Campe having bribed the parents, the tutors, who had long been merely superfluous companions to young noblemen, now became fashionable as real instructers in every citizen's family. These tutors either themselves founded establishments for conducting education, or entered into public schools, or educated their distinguished pupils so well, that they, when appointed to high offices of state, interested themselves for a reform of the schools; in short, the tutors led the way to realism, and a better theory of methods (*methodik*).

The German tutors deserve particular respect: they were commonly the young Germans who possessed the highest mental endowments, — youths, who were burning with an enthusiastic love of ideals; yet these were the very persons who were condemned to serve in the houses of men of the higher ranks, and often to be treated merely as servants. Almost all the young men who devoted themselves to the study not of law or medicine, but of theology or philosophy, that is, to the study of the higher branches, were, at least

all who were not born of wealthy parents, condemned to this disgraceful method of earning their bread; in former times, because the greater part of the livings, and even of the situations in schools, were bestowed only from motives of personal favour, as the settling of accounts with dismissed tutors, so that they could be acquired only by tutorising: in later times, because the few situations being inadequate to the supply of the numerous candidates, each was obliged to serve a series of years as tutor. It is impossible to imagine a glowing, aspiring youth in a more repulsive situation: a prison may be more tolerable than this soul-murdering dependence upon the whims of the rich and noble, upon the ill-breeding of their wives and children, upon the envy and gossip of their servants. Yet the patient German has yielded to this disgrace, as to a hundred others, and has, as usual, plucked grapes from thorns.

The practice of having private tutors is to be blamed, because it renders impossible general education; the same to all of every rank, because it isolates the children, deprives them of society, and seems only calculated to perpetuate, by confinement in the house, those domestic prejudices which were formerly rubbed off when they mixed with the world. In a state in which the rights of men are considered sacred, every child, be his father rich or poor, has an equal natural right to instruction. The difference of rank may be natural and sacred as to other things: in this point it is unnatural and improper; children do not belong

to any rank; they have to be fitted for some one. Moreover, every child is entitled to have not only his body protected from the cruelty, but even his mind from the pernicious effects of the ignorance and prejudices of his parents, in so far as these may be injurious to him in after-life: therefore only public schools for all children are, without exception, good; and the law, which compels all to send their children to school (*schul-zwang*[4]), thus preventing the existence of any entirely uneducated madcaps, is perfectly justifiable. According to the same principle, however, tutorships are blameworthy. For my own part, I condemn them unconditionally; yet I must allow that tutors, without deriving any temporal advantage from their labours, without thanks, suffering under unspeakable mental tortures, have effected much good, even during that diseased period which called forth the practice.

Wherever a noble or wealthy man appeared, endowed with a higher culture and more exalted sentiments than were usual, this was commonly the result of an education conducted by German tutors, in opposition to the corrupting influence of French governesses, hunters, mistresses, gamblers, a residence at Paris, &c. And whenever the school-pedantry seemed animated by a freer spirit, whenever a reform, at first only weak, a trial of the realia only timid, made its appear-

[4] Called also *Schul-pflichtigkeit*. See Mrs. Austin's translation of Cousin's Rapport, Pref. p. 9—13, and Report, p. 23—33.

ance, this likewise was commonly the result of the exertions of those who, having been tutors, had in private families become acquainted with a better selection of objects of instruction, and with a better method of communicating them.

The tutors have, with limited means, and under great disadvantages, honestly fulfilled their vocation, that of supplying the wants of the school. The wretched state in which they lived, is pictured to the life in the book 'Felix Kaskorby, or the History of a Forty Years' Tutor,' by W. Hernisch.

At last came the French Revolution, which appeared to realize in so many respects the ideas of Rousseau, and in particular in regard to education. The practical French banished for ever from their schools the Greek and Latin trumpery, and introduced in its place the realia alone. The Germans would, without doubt, have immediately followed their example, had it been given by a crowned despot, like Louis XIV. or XV., by a mistress like Pompadour, by a minister like Louvet; in short, if it had been given by any one but a free people. It was necessary that Napoleon should come, that he should inherit the revolution, and sanction the institutions, which he as emperor maintained, before they could meet with any sympathy in Germany. In fact, it was not till the time of the French sway, and in imitation of the French model, that polytechnic schools, those in which were taught trades and the realia (*gewerb-und real-schulen*), were introduced into Germany. Before that time, before the French had again become servile, nothing, no matter how useful and good it

was, could be adopted from them; for everything seemed infected by republicanism. It being therefore possible only for republican Switzerland to adopt the new French ideas, Pestalozzi arose in the insurgent democratical cantons, as the reformer of the German system of education[5]. The time at which his institution originated was so warlike, that he, with the little flock of children intrusted to his care, was compelled to fly from village to village amidst the thunder of battles.

Pestalozzi was himself like a child; his confidence in men was therefore shamefully abused. His ideas having been laid hold of and used by men of the most commonplace and selfish character, he fell into such discredit, that, after a civil and pedagogical bankruptcy, and after having in a last excellent work confessed the errors of his life, he died in misery. How amiable is this confession of the childlike old man! how amiable was he himself! Honour to his ashes, disgrace to his false friends, to his base disciples, who so ruthlessly changed his life into a hell. They deserved, like those infamous villains mentioned by Tacitus[6], to have been inclosed in a basket and sunk in the morasses of Iferten[7]. The ill

[5] Johann Heinrich, born at Zurich, Jan. 12th, 1746; died Feb. 17th, 1827. Inquiries with regard to the Progress of National Development; History of Man; Weekly Journal of Education (edited by him for several years); Autobiography. Novels—Lienhardt and Gertrude, &c.

[6] Ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames, cœno ac palude injectu insuper crate, mergunt. Tacitus, Germania, c. 12.

[7] An Yverdun in the Canton de Vaud, near where Pestallozzi's school was established.

success of Pestalozzi proved how dangerous all private education is, how little even the best intentions can effect, when opposed by triviality, obstinacy, and rapacity, where the school is not the property of the state and of the community, but merely that of a small and private company.

Pestalozzi, however, has not only acquired an immense fame, he has also exercised an influence which is really very great, over the system of teaching. It matters little that so many schools for girls have branched off from his institution, and that new boarding-schools have been instituted, after the model of his one, in every quarter of the world; for in them we can expect nothing but the scum of education, the collection of the most intolerable charlatanism and quackery, false culture, and want of nature; these institutions, too, are in general mere parasitical plants, which, having shot out of the old stem of our school-system, must necessarily decay of themselves as soon as the trunk begins to reproduce strong and healthy shoots. Where the public schools are in the state in which they should be, there ought to be no private schools.

Pestalozzi has also had an influence upon public schools by his improved method of instruction. He proceeded upon the supposition that the imagination, the formative and mathematical perception (*Anschauung*), is more vivid and more mature in the young, than the memory, and the faculty of thinking; he therefore worked first upon the former, thus easily teaching the young by

perception, what they hitherto had very great difficulty in comprehending when taught them by means of words. This attempt led him and his imitators still further. They made a particular study of the science of methods (*Methodik*), and attempted, by a very careful comparison of the capacity of children with the end and means of instruction, to discover the boundaries of the science of education (*Pädagogik*). The Germans, to whom Pestalozzi belongs, were particularly active in the pursuance of these views, yet I must tell the truth, and lament that they have not effected so much as the English and French; for the systems of Bell, Lancaster, Hamilton, and Jacotot, have a real practical value, while, on the contrary, the thousand-fold experiments made by our German teachers, and in particular, the proposals brought forward in that branch of literature which is designed to further the interests of education, generally serve no purpose but that of enriching the history of human folly. Before I begin to examine this folly more minutely, I must notice one great and good result which has come into operation since, and in consequence of, the prominent part taken by Pestalozzi.

This is the improvement of the lower schools (*niedern Schulen*), and of the primary normal schools (*Schullehrer seminare*, seminaries for the training of the masters of primary schools). Pestalozzi was not over-refined (*vornehm*); he always spoke to the people in an intelligible popular tone, and all that was original in his system

of instruction was calculated for the young, each of whom should belong to the people, and not to any particular rank. He was a thorough republican. In aristocratical and monarchical states his disciples were not allowed to be so. People, however, wished to do something for the lower orders; indeed it soon became a fashionable amusement to try to do so. To the disgrace of human reason, the Berne patrician, Herr von Fellenberg[8], erected close to each other in Hofwyl two institutions; the one for children of the higher classes, in blue cloth coats; the other, for peasant boys, in linen smocks. Here they were taught, by a strict separation from their earliest years, the one to look proudly down, the other to look humbly up. The noble zeal which was at this time everywhere shown in founding correction-houses (*Rettungs-anstalten*) and schools for neglected children, or in reforming the existing orphan-houses, was far more dignified and salutary than the quackery of the Bernese squire. The eccentric poet Falk gained peculiar merit in this respect. Having suddenly changed from a satirist to a pious Christian, he sacrificed all his property, his time, and his comfort, to collect the most neglected children he could find in the street, and at last came to be acknowledged and supported by the Weimar government as the father of a numerous colony of such little outcasts.

[8] Philip Emmanuel von Fellenberg, born at Berne, 1771; alive in Hofwyl. Works on Education and for his Schools; View of Swiss Husbandry, and the Best Means of Improving it.

This activity of private individuals, praiseworthy as it was, was of far less importance than the care bestowed upon the public primary schools for the people (*Volkschulen*), and upon the seminaries in which the teachers of these schools were to be trained. The ideas of Pestalozzi and the impulse communicated by him produced in this department real blessings to our people. It was truly a great blessing that the importance of primary schools and of primary instruction was universally acknowledged,—that the sorry pack of village schoolmasters was almost universally, though only by degrees, improved,—that the culture of the century penetrated even into those regions, where the catechism and the birch had hitherto maintained undisputed sway. Though mistakes were occasionally committed even here, though now and then too much was required of the village schoolmaster, though they themselves sometimes attempted too much, yet there lay in the publicity and great number of the state-schools a condition which repressed every exorbitant claim; so that in private establishments alone was there full scope given to folly. Among those who, by their writings, superintendence, and example, have done most for the improvement of the seminaries and of the elementary instruction of the people, Niemeyer[9] in Halle, Schwarz of Heidelberg, Harnisch of

[9] August Hermann Niemeyer, born Sept. 11th, 1754; died July 7th, 1827. Pedagogical Writings; Characteristics of the Bible; Views on German Education and History in the Eighteenth Century Principles of Education and Instruction.

Wessenfels (formerly of Breslau), Graser[1] in Würzburg, &c., occupy the highest places. There are here, fortunately, more who have deserved well than who have become renowned.

Though less has been done for the schools intended to instruct the middle classes in towns in *realia* and trades (*burgerliche Realund Gewerbschule*), yet something has been effected. A curse, a false growth, still rests upon these because they cannot be isolated and simplified to such an extent as the village schools; because they exist in the towns as hated rivals by the side of the gymnasia; and because their capabilities are still a subject of dispute. Here, indeed, Pestalozzi's spirit has had a beneficial influence, but its attempts to reconcile them to the grasping claims of German erudition, have as yet been unsuccessful.

The revival of the two oldest principles of education, *gymnastics* and *music*, is connected with the reform of Pestalozzi. Pestalozzi made the capacity and wants of the child the standard of his education, a circumstance which necessarily led to a knowledge of the proper value of the powers and defects of the body during youth. Yet the effeminate age never thought of gymnastics until the defeat of Jena gave a proof which was, alas! but too striking, of the consequences of this effeminacy. Then was first felt again in Prussia

[1] J. B. Graser. Divinity of Judaism, and its reference to Christianity; Divinity or Principles of one only true Education of Man; Relation of Graser's Method of Instruction to the Religious Method.

the want of an education, capable of forming young heroes more powerful than their fathers; and whilst the *Tugendbund*[2] laboured in another way—by writings—to promote a love of the Fatherland, Jahn opened at Hasenhaide near Berlin the first *Turnplatz*[3], as a model-school for gymnastics, in which the whole nation were for the future to be trained. But this political motive became afterwards the ruin of the whole affair. After victory had been obtained, there was no longer any use for an heroic youth; nay, govern-

[2] A patriotic union which arose in Prussia after the peace of Tilsit, July 9th, 1807. Its objects were to mitigate the miseries caused by the war, to relieve Germany from the yoke of the French. It was formally acknowledged by the Prussian government, and headed by such men as Stein, Arndt, Jahn, &c. The French upon becoming acquainted with the existence of this society, ordered its dissolution, which took place in consequence of a decree of the Prussian government, in 1808.

[3] *Turnplatz, Turnkunst, Turnweisen, Turner,* are all words for which we have no equivalent in English. Probably *gymnastics,* &c., would be the nearest approximation. They are all derived from *turn,* an old German word, which signifies *to turn, to swing, to move.* The *Turnplatz,* the first of which was erected by Jahn, at Hasenhaide, near Berlin, in 1810, was fitted up with all kinds of instruments, exercise with which would tend to strengthen the body. Jahn had but too plainly seen the effeminate state into which the youth of the kingdom had fallen; he, therefore, thought that this would be an excellent plan of fitting them again for the field. He was not mistaken. Many of those who had been instructed by him, distinguished themselves nobly in the war of 1813–15. After this the institutions were for some time favoured by government, but, in consequence of the cabinet having become suspicious that the *Turners* had political aims in view, they were ordered to be shut in 1819.

ments thought they might become dangerous during peace. It was supposed that the young men, unable to settle down quietly, would, as soon as there no longer existed an external enemy, use all their energies to bring about the destruction of the state. However ridiculous the affair was, inasmuch as it was crushed in the bud, was ridiculed by coxcombs, and was soon quite suppressed, yet there was really something serious in the background. It was no wonder that the enervated diplomatists and hollow-eyed officials were afraid of a warlike German youth, glowing in the fulness, power, and activity of bodily strength. They acted very prudently in confining the young, in preventing them from attaining the full powers of their body, in keeping the effeminate boys brooding over their books, so as to deprive them of every breath of cheerful life; in short, in destroying their powers, by loading them with new mental exertions. The whole body of the German youth were condemned to the fate of Caspar Hauser—to lead, fettered to the walls, amidst the gloom of a world of books, and without fresh air, an image of mental life, in order that they might afterwards be treated as diseased when they came into the full light of day.

Pestalozzi did much for the advancement of the study of music. His ideas were first put into practice by Nägeli[4], Pfeiffer, &c. The methods were, even in this department, the principal

[4] Hans Georg Nägeli. Music, according to the System of Pestalozzi; Plan of a New Helvetic Constitution.

means by the simplification of which, an acquaintance with, and love of music were universally diffused among the young in the schools, and among the people by means of singing-associations (*Singvereine.*)

All these improvements had to contend not only with the ill-will of their opponents, but also with the folly, the foolish exaggerations of true and false friends.

The correct feeling that the system of education required to be reformed, produced a kind of pedagogical craze, which manifested itself in a sudden deification of the world of children, which had hitherto been too much contemned, and in excessive and vain over-valuing of the teachers, hitherto too little valued.

The pedagogical lethargy suddenly turned into a true St. Vitus's dance. Every possible advantage was now expected from the improvements in the education of children,—a subject which, as it had formerly been looked upon only as a necessary evil, was, therefore, but too often altogether neglected. So soon as the century felt disposed for a general reform, that is, after the French Revolution, the world of children offered a fertile field whereon to display its activity. Nowhere has so much enthusiasm been displayed as in the science of education (*Pädagogik*), because everything was expected from the young and from futurity. Not only the enthusiastic philanthropist, who wished to reform the world from the root, addressed himself to the young, who could be moulded in accordance with his fancied model, but even the mere charlatan sought to obtain

possession of the ductile wax of youth, in order to impress his stamp upon it. Every one expects to have less trouble with the young, and to see his opinions prosper best in this susceptible soil. All turning to the young as to a new-arisen power, flattered them and filled them with the highest opinion of themselves. Being thus often displaced from their true position, a false nature has as often avenged itself.

It must strike us, that children have of late performed a very important part: on the one side we see them overtopping their parents; on the other, that all hope, all salvation, is placed in them alone; and that there is ascribed to them a holy power, as was formerly done by our forefathers to women. With regard to the former of these, children have never made so much noise as with us. We see them teaching as professors—flirting at their juvenile balls and dances in spite of their parents—having the chief sway, and, in fact, holding the reins of government, in very many families—playing the part of monitors in the schools—leagued as a band of robbers—and at last arrested as traitors and demagogues.

On the other side, we expect from these very children a golden age; we incessantly tell them what we expect them to become, what may possibly be in them; that they ought to, and must become far more distinguished than we their parents are: indeed many pedagogues openly profess their conviction, that we the parents ought, properly speaking, to go to school to learn from our children.

This mania for aping is, however, merely the

natural reaction of that cruelty with which children were formerly treated, and by which the natural blossoms of their feelings and their minds were rudely repressed. There is something moving in this sudden return of love and repentance, and, upon the whole, little is lost by it; for the children are either too innocent to abuse this momentary power accorded them by their parents, or where they do so, and torment the old people too much, flatteries are soon exchanged for the rod.

The pride of the pedagogues themselves is a matter of more consequence. As soon as they became more aware of their importance, most of them behaved in a way which could not be tolerated. The craving felt by the lower orders—a craving produced by the Revolution—to imitate the higher and more polished classes, is peculiarly connected with that German craving for originality, which always seeks after something new and strange. When we think of that unfortunate connection between erudition and pedagogy, polyhistory and pedantry, which has been transmitted to us from the past, and of that inevitable variety of opinions which is connected with the innovations in our mingled culture, and the consequence of various claims of the age, which cross one another's paths in so many different ways; when we think of these things, we can no longer be surprised at the monstrous phenomena visible in our schools.

That aristocratic propensity which moves society from below, turning every journeyman-tailor into a gentleman, and every cook into a lady, has

infected even the simple schoolmasters and preceptors with a desire to imitate the university professors. Did every one know his own place and maintain it with propriety, all ranks would be really equal; but in place of being sensible of their honour as citizens, they strive after a ridiculous and unworthy affectation of gentility. Hence proceeds that hunting after distinction, which is so common in our schools. Therefore it is, that every one wishes to become an author, to bring forward new theories, or to bring himself into notice by certain scientific hobbies. Is there not in every gymnasium one or more teachers, who are constantly attempting to prove that they ought to have been called to an university; who are upon their own authority delivering philosophical lectures, or treating of the details of those sciences which happen to be their favourite studies, but which are quite unsuited for mere boys? Thus one treats of the most minute grammatical trifles; another of symbols; a third employs himself with some old author whose works he intends to edite, and thinks more of the *scholia* than of the school; a fourth having trained up two or three pupils to chatter Greek with him, never troubles his head about the others; a fifth is not ashamed to lecture on logic, and puts on a serious academical face when on that subject. The sixth is, probably, a botanist, and a particular lover of the cryptogamia; his pupils, therefore, learn nothing but to practise cryptogamy. The seventh, being an ichthyologist, teaches his pupils to number all the

scales of all the species of fish on the coast of China; the eighth having a peculiar liking for mineralogy, fills the heads of the children with information about the most wonderful stones. There are even among the Realists, many pedants, who, like the subjunctive-hunter among the Humanists, enter into the most detailed expositions of their favourite studies to the children, as if this were their principal business.

Thus, in consequence of the vanity of the teachers, either the subjects which of right should be taught in the higher schools are anticipated, or the valuable time of the pupils is wasted on miscellaneous subjects which have no business in the school. Mere boys are in this way sometimes made arbiters in literary disputes. Stupid professors, after having read to their pupils what they have written against their opponents, say to them: "Well, have I not refuted him capitally?" I myself know such a learned blockhead, who read in triumph to his scholars what he had written against me.

The desire to become distinguished at the expense of the young is shown chiefly in the invention of new methods, and in the creating of artificial difficulties, where there are no natural ones. Even the A, B, C, has not escaped this rage for novelty. One, in order to put something new in the place of the old alphabet (which, however, must also be learned), teaches the poor children to hiss, to whistle, to neigh, to coo, to lisp, to growl and to grumble like beasts. Another at-

tempts to explain the letters out of the archetypical numerals; a third takes the trouble of making the children unlearn their native German, in order to teach them anew, first Mæso-Gothic; then Old High-German; next, Middle High-German; and lastly, following consistently the same progress of development pursued by the nation, the New High-German. These are all facts; the individuals are still alive. And can we wonder at them? The late Funke went so far as to teach children to amuse themselves, thus attempting by artificial instructions to render difficult what came to them so easily by nature. This mania for methodising has infected every science. Look, for instance, what strange plans are constantly devised by the music teachers, who attempt to change the old notes into signs and other nonsense.

A most ludicrous whim, one, however, which could occur only in an age so disorganized and effeminate as the present, was the attempt to emancipate the education of women, and to found upon it the salvation of the world. It was very natural that some aspiring women should presume to wrest the command out of the hands of the weak men. The miserable effeminate condition of the men necessarily called into existence those modern Amazons, who have made themselves so conspicuous among our female literati. If Frau Theresa Huber could throw her scented glove to the whole male sex, and say: 'I despise you all: after having buried two husbands, I declare, that it is not worth the trouble of having one;' as well might Frau Niederer openly declare: 'You men

don't understand the thing at all; you have plainly proved that you are incapable of guiding and educating mankind; only leave the matter to us women, we shall go to work far more cleverly, and shall perform the affair in a far more dignified manner!' However foolish all this may be, still it has a serious side. These instructresses doing all that they can to educate young girls improperly render many of them unhappy by putting into their heads fancies, which either terrify wooers, or make them unhappy when married. Nothing in fact makes women more unamiable, and consequently more unhappy, than the overstepping the charming contrast of the sexes, and engaging in those masculine occupations and cares which are proper for men alone. An ungallant, but very true oriental proverb says: "When the hen begins to crow like the cock, it is high time to wring her neck."

I must take this opportunity of bewailing the influence of our sentimental poetry, especially of that of Goethe. These effeminate poets having contributed no less to the improper training of women than to the enervating of men, Frau Niederer may be pardoned, when compared with the Ottilias, Natalias, and other unnatural caricatures which Goethe has huddled into literature. Yet, this Goethe is praised as the best painter of women. O yes! he knew them very well; but on that very account his pictures of them are false, for they merely serve him to lead women astray; they were not the mirror of truth, but the mirror of vanity, in which women saw, not their true na-

ture, but only their foibles and vanities palliated and defended.

What was soon forgotten by Basedow, was also soon forgotten by the fashionable in city boarding-schools (*Pensions-anstalten*) and their patrons. We have nothing to do with what Herr von Goethe or his Natalia proposed and recommended as a model-institution, because such things are mere aristocratic affectations and fooleries, like the great Arcadian villages which Prince Potemkin showed to the Empress Katherine amidst the wilds of the Crimea. But even the better sort of private institutions have been productive of but little good, because they left the people and attempted to form something ideal, and quite unsuited to the present age and the mass of the nation. They wished to train up *men*—an endeavour to which the natural condition of children seemed to offer no obstacle. They fancied they could make any impression they chose upon their ductile wax, and hoped that the same results would follow from these ideals as from the Philanthropines. But they forgot that education must be in harmony with the condition of the great mass of the people, unless they wish to see the young early forsaken. These establishments either missed the chief aim of education, in looking upon the Philanthropines as if they were happy islands in the south sea, and paying no attention to the surrounding world; or they mistook the means, in employing harsh and unnatural severities towards the young; in opening the buds with violence in order to see the future blos-

som, and in training them just as they would have done so many dogs. Such private schools are often the nests of every kind of pedagogical unreason, even when they are not merely ordinary money speculations intended to deceive. We do not wish to deny the necessity of a model-school for the thorough testing of all new theories, but as every school may, under the superintendence of the state, serve as a model-school, there is no use for that immense number of boarding-schools which are free from all inspection and superintendence, and in which the total want of conscience and the rapacity manifested by quacks, or the pedagogical madness of insane reformers, coquets with the vanity of the parents.

The multiplication of objects of instruction and the increase of school hours, even in the public establishments, kept pace with that in the establishments for private education and boarding-schools. Both were produced by the necessity for a different course of instruction from that hitherto pursued. The private institutions, therefore, rivalled one another in flattering the parents, and the public ones were determined not to be behind. The former were at first principally schools for teaching the *realia;* but as soon as the state itself founded Real-schools, the private establishments adopted the principle of humanism, and endeavoured by becoming universities in miniature, by uniting at once all objects of instruction, to surpass the Real-schools as well as the gymnasia, which did not teach so much. Yet these latter in their turn rivalled the former, and it was even

proposed to elevate all public schools to a kind of Universalism. The different favourite sciences of the learned, the manifold claims of the parents, and the indulgence of the state, which was quite pleased at seeing the young sitting behind their desks, produced that superabundance of objects of instruction, out of which no proper selection has yet been made.

Rousseau having driven man naked into the world, these Germans bestirred themselves to cover him with the wardrobe of all nations and all ages. Rousseau merely wished to extract corruption out of human nature; the German reformers and philanthropists wishing to cram it full of all possible good, over-fed the poor child, without heeding its struggles.

The pedagogues were fortunately divided in their opinions, so that while one tormented the children intrusted to his care with one kind of folly, his neighbour plagued his with another; and thus no child was plagued with both at once. At first they hated one another, and avoided the errors of the others from dislike; by and by, however, they began to become reconciled, and to adopt each others' errors, thus forcing their unfortunate pupils to experience, at one and the same time, all possible pedagogical fooleries. In former times the Humanist took possession of one boy, the Realist of another; now both take possession of the same boy, and each makes the same claims upon his time and attention, as if it were in his power to devote himself to one alone. Formerly one pedagogue devoted his chief atten-

tion to religion, a second to morals, a third to the cultivation of the intellect, a fourth to æsthetics, a fifth to bodily and social training;—now there are sytems of, and establishments for, education, in which the pupil is taught to learn all at once. All the pedagogical rods have been bound together into fasces, and there is only the axe wanting to strike off the head of the poor boy who is utterly stupified by much learning.

But to be serious; while our pedagogues fancy that they are still carrying out the principles of the great and ever-meritorious work of Rousseau, there has long been need of a new Rousseau, to free the young from that pedagogical lumber, and to bring them back into their primitive mental nakedness, and Eden-like innocence. Or, in other words; as the endeavours of the pedagogues have hitherto consisted in multiplying as much as possible the objects of education, the most pressing want at present is to *simplify* them as much as possible.

When will the German get rid of his tendency to roam into the boundless? It is true that endless paths lie open to men in every direction, and it would be all very well, did our strength and time allow us, to traverse them all; but "art is long, life is short[5]; we cannot become everything:" the young, therefore, should not be prepared to undertake everything. It is indeed very desirable that the dear German youths should thoroughly understand Greek, in order

[5] Wilhelm Meister's Indenture.

to appreciate all the graces of ancient Hellas, and the mild lustre and power of its spirit; I should also like that the good boys all understood Sanscrit, Persian, Arabian, Chinese, &c.; on the other side, life and practical utility, as well as poetry and dead science, must be attended to; it would therefore be well that the young, each and all, understood not only French, English, and Italian, but also Polish, Russian, and Turkish. This holds good still more with respect to the *realia*. Each of the boys should learn mathematics and mechanics, chemistry, natural philosophy, natural history, astronomy, geography, as well as the first principles of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy. But, cry out others, are we to neglect the body, in the training of the head? Not at all; the young men must learn to exercise and swim, to ride, fence, dance, dress, carve, &c., thoroughly. But the heart, inquire others, and religion and philosophy? Should not the young be trained up above all in the knowledge of virtue and Christianity? Ought not the heavenly goal which is exalted far above this earthly life, to be held up to their view? Ought not the human mind to dive into the holy mysteries of the Deity, and to press on to the origin of all existence, in place of sporting on the surface?

Yes indeed. Why not? All that, and some more. But the gentlemen never consider where we are to get time for all this. It would be very well could it be accomplished, but it is impracticable. The gentlemen must therefore make up their minds to lower their standard of edu-

cation; they must learn to look not only at what they wish to stuff into the youth, but also at the small capacity of the young, who cannot by any possibility receive everything at the same time.

The remedy is quite at hand; indeed it required the whole blindness of German pedantry not to see it. The gentlemen must make up their minds, first, to reserve for the few those objects of instruction which are suited only for the few; and, secondly, to delay till after years those which belong to an after period of life. If the gentlemen would do this, each boy would learn only what he most immediately required, and would not, like a fattened goose, be crammed even to repletion with things quite unfitted for him. If the gentlemen did this, that boy alone would devote his time to the dead languages who intended to make them serviceable in after life, and that one alone would occupy himself principally with the *realia* and the modern languages, who could make use of them during his future life as a tradesman or a merchant. The gentlemen should wait till the youthful mind is a little more mature, before they offer to it those theological insipidities which have been handed down to us by our forefathers, and that philosophical nonsense, which, in accordance with new fashions has been lately introduced into the elementary schools and gymnasia. They would thus, in the first place, gain time for those objects of instruction which would be more directly useful to them, and, secondly, they would not, by desecrating

what is holy before the young, prematurely blunt their sympathy for what is higher and nobler. It is certain, that the old method of summarily instructing children in a blind belief of the most general and simplest objects of religion was far more in accordance with the true scientific method of education than the modern prolix catechising and rationalistic expositions, nay, even regular philosophical lessons in those schools which are below, and often much below, the universities. Nothing is more pernicious to the young, and even under the most favourable circumstances, nothing is more tiresome and useless, than reasoning with children. Every one has time enough for this when he grows up.

This chapter might be endlessly lengthened. Sorcerers enter those establishments for education, who, though they do not themselves know everything, make it a point to teach the young intrusted to their care *omnia et quædam alia;* whose programmes are filled with the titles of all possible sciences, and to whom a new name gives as much pleasure as a new instrument, an harmonica, or basset-horn, gives to a travelling virtuoso.

To such vanities do we sacrifice our well-dispositioned youths!

The peaceful path of progression to a better state of affairs is at present rendered very difficult by the passionate struggle between Realism and Humanism, which, unable to agree about their respective limits, will neither give up their mutual grudges, nor even enter into union.

In former times young men who had no wish to study attended no gymnasia. The future tradesman went to his workshop, the future merchant into his counting-house, the future soldier into the army. No one thought of a general education; each was educated for his own station. The learned-schools (*gelehrte Schulen*, gymnasia, equivalent to our grammar schools) were therefore calculated only for those who intended to become scholars; and as erudition was then onesidedly based upon the knowledge of the ancients, it excluded all general culture, so that the corporation of the learned stood directly opposed to all the other corporations. During last century this state of affairs altered. The unlearned classes aimed at a higher culture; and as this could be found only in the learned schools, there was gradually joined to the youths who were really studying, an ever-increasing number of boys who had no intention of entering any university, but who merely wished to pass through the curriculum of the schools and then devote themselves to some trade. As these, however, required a more general culture than the learned proper, and as learning was extending its limits, the old simple instruction in the dead languages was increased by various objects of real-instruction. But this union was too unnatural to prosper. The claims of the old learned corporation and those of the unlearned, those who merely required a general culture, could not be reconciled. With the former the study of the ancients of course prevailed; to the latter this study appeared to a great extent

quite useless; and, on the contrary, real-instruction was looked upon as the only thing essentially necessary. Many remedies were attempted. Either one and the same school was overloaded with instruction both in the classics and in the *realia*, to such an extent that the scholars being compelled to sink under the mass of lessons, relaxation at last succeeded overstraining; or, the philologists, bent upon keeping their old gymnasia free from the real-instruction, repressed it whenever it crept in, so that there arose in opposition real-schools and boarding-schools exclusively devoted to instruction in the *realia*. This separation appears far more natural and more suitable than the union which others attempted to form; but the two systems are now opposed to each other, each endeavouring to defame and injure the other as much as possible. They dispute about where their respective limits are. Each wishes to have as large a domain as possible.

The Humanists will not tolerate special schools for the *realia*; they maintain that the dead languages ought to be the chief object of instruction, not only for those intended for a learned life, but even for the great body of the young, a rule from which only the most elementary village schools are to be excepted. This was the principle of Thiersch and the first Bavarian school-plan (*Schulplan*).

The Realists want a separation between those schools in which the realia are taught to those who do not study for a profession, and the gymnasia for those who do. Mönnich advocated this

view with great clearness in his Pedagogical Journal. He desires real-schools for the future tradesmen, farmers, merchants, officers, artists, &c.; and gymnasia, in which the dead languages are taught, for the future theologians, philosophers, jurists, physicians, historians, and, above all, scholars.

The Universalists, on their part, wish for a union of both; for the instruction of every one in everything, so far as this is possible. This view was defended principally by Klump.

The presumption of the Humanists in wishing to shut up in their class-room not only those of their scholars who are destined for literary pursuits, but also all other young men, must be unconditionally condemned. Is the flower of the manly youth of a whole country to be tormented during the tenderest years of their life to learn two foreign dead languages, in order that the ten thousandth may, if fortune permit, be sufficiently schooled to be able to carry on, in the philological seminary, a dispute in Greek with his professor? This is as bad as emasculating a thousand boys, that perhaps a hundred may be trained to be squeaking eunuchs in a church choir. What advantage do the great mass of the young derive from this drilling in the classics? What does the state? The young become unfit for anything but study, because from their earliest years they have learnt nothing but Latin and Greek; and the state is thus overladen with that superabundance of students and candidates for whom all real and possible offices no longer suf-

fice, and for whom an universal commiseration is felt throughout Germany. Does science gain anything by this state of affairs? On the contrary, classicism being, in spite of its morbid exertions, on the decline, what is the use of these exertions of a whole generation of scholars? As good, nay, probably better, philologists would be produced, if philology occupied the attention of fewer pupils, and of these more strictly. People bewail the decline of philology, but are not aware where the root of the evil lies. The true cause lies in the degeneracy of philology itself, in that which we call a too great attention to trifles (*das Minutiöse*). The old simple grammar has been crumbled into ten times ten thousand trifles, and an archæology has been created, amidst the labyrinthine windings of which it is impossible to find one's way. One hunts after rare subjunctives or genitives, another after rare and obscure notes of the scholiasts; and all the time that the young are feeding upon this precious mess they must do without wholesome solid food. The old Donatus educated thorough Latinists, who could pray and curse in Latin: ours can do nothing but write silly dissertations.

It would be far better if you were to return to the simplicity of olden times, and limit the number of young men who should devote themselves exclusively to study. If, however, you continue to shiver the firm old stem of knowledge, and to relax the strictness of your discipline, by extending it to many uncalled and lukewarm scholars, you will at last reap the fruit of your perverseness.

I call all those scholars *uncalled* who, without any wish to study, take a part which is merely compulsory in this philological instruction, and therefore get rid of it as soon as they engage in active life. Those also I consider *uncalled*, who attend the universities merely because they never learn anything at the inferior schools but what is intended to prepare young men for entering the university.

This I say for the advantage of the Humanists. I could say far more in favour of that Realism so shamefully treated by them, for this side is far more important than that upon which they stand; as much more so as the education of a whole nation is more important than that of its scholars alone.

In the first place, they must be reproached for the falsehood with which they ridiculed the real-schools as injurious and useless, after they themselves had prevented their success. They stole from the hard-working man his property, and then inveighed against him as a bankrupt. They deprive the young plant of light and soil, and then reproach it as an useless weed. It is, indeed, true, that much that is improper has crept into the real-instruction, and he who delighted in saying with so much attic wit, "that the pupils in the real-schools were taught to number the teeth of the crocodile, and the hairs on the tail of the camel," was certainly right; but what is the source of these mistakes, if it be not the circumstance, that these schools, despised, repressed, and given up to the caprice of individual teachers, have not yet acquired a healthy life nor a firm

organization? Were the real-schools to increase in number, were the state to pay particular attention to them, there can be no doubt that both teachers and systems would soon improve.

The question, therefore, is, how to educate the young for their future calling. The future clergyman, statesman, lawyer, physician, and scholar, should be instructed in the dead languages; the future soldier, merchant, artist, tradesman, and farmer, in their mother tongue, in the modern languages, in mathematics, history, and the natural sciences. Nothing can be more certain and clear. He who does not intend to follow a learned profession must necessarily lose much valuable time in learning the dead languages,—time which is so indispensably required in the prosecution of the various departments of the *realia*; and who does not know, with how little earnestness those scholars who do not intend to enter the universities, pursue those classical studies which are forced upon them! how difficult it is to make them comprehend their necessity, and how rapidly they forget and ridicule what they had learned mechanically and against their will, so soon as they become engaged in their own proper business! Many a one who, with difficulty, learned to translate Homer, wishes in after life, that, in place of this useless accomplishment, he had been better acquainted with mathematics, geography, and the modern languages, of his deficiencies in which he is now become thoroughly sensible. How ridiculous you classicists appear when you speak of the indirect advantages which your classic philology confers

upon the young; of the sharpening of the intellect by means of the logic which lies in the Latin language; of the elevation of the sentiments, produced by an acquaintance with the greatness of the ancients; of the ideal and humane tendency which is acquired by the young, when led back from the jejune struggles of the present into the illusion of the past; in fine, of the check imposed upon the youthful exuberance of spirits by the art of leaving it in total ignorance respecting the present; and of confining it strictly within the prison walls of a dead knowledge! What are these indirect advantages when compared with the all-apparent direct advantages of instruction in the realia? Of what avail is it to use artifice in removing the young from a Present, to which they must at last return? That exuberance of spirits (*Uebermuth*) which has come into such bad repute among our German young men, and which is quite unknown in France or England, originates merely in that contrast between the Present and the illusions of the Past, which humanism pointed out to the young. Had these young men been accustomed, from their earliest years, to the wants of the present; had they been prepared for their vocation in this life, that ignorance of the external world, that self-conceit of idealizing dreamers, and that bold licentiousness in judging of the existing relations of society, would have died away of themselves.

Who is entitled to decide regarding the deficiencies of national education? Perhaps only some old, incarnate philologists or Grecomanists?

No; were it proposed to found a strictly learned institution, a philological seminary, then they might have the chief management. But as the question is concerning the education of the great mass of the young, the majority of whom are not intended for the learned professions, the decision must be left to others, to the masters of other departments; and the statesman, who takes a comprehensive view of all around him, will compare the different wants, and bring them into harmony with one another. A philologist is, in consequence of his limited views, as unfitted as a soldier, a merchant, or an artist, to conduct education, if he does so by impressing upon it the stamp of his own individual class. The nation does not require mere soldiers, or mere arithmeticians; neither, however, does it need mere Latin and Greek scholars.

That overloading with everything, which wishes to unite Humanism and Realism, by receiving the latter into the old gymnasia, is still more blameworthy. All attempts to improve the learned schools are of no avail, if we do not *from without* place them in their true position by the founding of especial real-schools, in which an instruction is afforded in accordance with nature and with the age; if we do not consistently separate those studying for a learned profession from those who are not.

It has, by degrees, become the custom in the lower classes in the gymnasia, partly as a favour to those who are not studying for a learned profession, and, partly, that those who are may have

altogether done, as soon as possible, with all real-instruction, to cram into the heads of the boys during their first years of attendance, all possible instruction in languages and the realia, so that the poor youths are both bodily and mentally weighed down by the immense load of books which they must daily carry to and from school.

Everything must thus be taught as quickly as possible, in order that the young men may, as soon as possible, be ready to commence their really professional study (*Brod-studium*). They must gulp down, in the greatest haste, a smattering of all sciences, so as soon to become students, and to arrive at appointment and salary.

It is, unfortunately, but too true, that the inferior schools are now the *universitates literarum*, in which everything is taught, while the universities themselves are merely the most onesided training institutions, in which particular sciences are inculcated. Wherein does this perversity originate? In the haste with which the sons of the state-officials are hurried through the schools and universities, in order to become, as soon as possible, themselves state-officials, capable of drawing a salary. At the universities they learn nothing but their professional studies, and, like the stiff-necked beasts of Epicurus, push straight to their food, without ever looking to the right or left; it therefore follows, that all the general culture they require, must, since they have no time for it in the universities, have been acquired in the inferior schools. Were the young gentlemen, as ought to be, and formerly was, the cus-

tom, compelled to study a few years longer, they would have time enough to unite a general humane culture with the studies of their peculiar professional department; and that compression of instruction which cripples both mind and soul,—that steam-education, would cease; there would be found for every department clever and educated men, and every one who had passed the proper curriculum in the pursuit of knowledge, would acquire during it internal and external advantages, which would be of service to him during all the remainder of his life; and far more true culture and true manliness of spirit would then be disseminated. How many lament in after-years, during the tedium of an official life, or of a leisure tastelessly employed, that they had not made a better use of their youth; at least, they are to be pitied, if they do not pity themselves. The few *years* they would have to add to their first period of education, would be to them full *ears*, while afterwards so many superfluous *years* become to them empty *ears*.

The young students of seventeen, who roam about with tobacco-pipes, riding-switches, and dogs, are a satire, a complete disgrace to the consistory of that country in which they are found. The forcing of young minds is even more; it is a crime against humanity. Notwithstanding the evident inutility of such a course of conduct, philosophy is taught in the gymnasia instead of being deferred till the pupils enter the universities. Boys of fifteen now engage in those occupations which require the mature mind of a man of thirty.

Let us inquire into the age of students in former times. Even in my own time a student under twenty was a rarity; now a student above twenty is as great a rarity. And, what is the purpose of this haste, of this galloping and hunting through studies, by which the soul is wasted away like a consumptive girl, and the mind hunted to death like a panting stag? Does it settle the young man sooner, does he sooner taste the sweets of office? On the contrary, the downy-cheeked candidates have to wait their eight or ten years. Might not this long quarantine be advantageously employed in the prosecution of their studies? But no; just because each candidate has to wait, until, amidst such a competition, it arrives at his turn, each one must finish his studies as quickly as possible, and enter into the rank of solicitants, that his turn may come as soon as possible. Thus the evil is progressively increasing, so that the more competition increases, the more does the time allotted for study decrease. Where is this to end? The stream which now flows towards university studies must necessarily take another direction, and the number of candidates must diminish to a natural proportion which may agree with the number of offices, and then each candidate must be allowed, nay even prescribed a sufficient time to prepare himself for the duties of his office.

A deep sympathy must be felt for the young during their stay at school, especially for those not studying for any profession, and who are tortured in the gymnasia merely for company's sake.

It is said, indeed, all is done for the good of the young; we wish to make them cleverer than their parents; we owe it as a duty to the young to teach them as much as possible; time has progressed, more is required and wanted, and though the young are pretty severely tasked for a few years, yet it exercises a beneficial influence upon all the rest of their life. Yes, indeed! when they survive it; but scarce the fiftieth boy has sufficient physical and mental strength to receive and keep all that is offered to him. Most of them make but a very sparing use of those benefits which are heaped upon them. Their stomach cannot bear overfeeding. Some always perish under the treatment. Consumption, short-sightedness, are daily becoming more frequent. Formerly it was very rare to see a student with spectacles, now they are to be met with in every gymnasium.

A far worse evil, however, is connected with sciolism;—a premature and false enlightenment, the old-fashionedness of the young. People have been busy eradicating as early as possible, superstition from the minds of the young, and placing sound reason in its place; but this endeavour, praiseworthy as it is in itself, has led to foolish excesses. To rescue the intellect, they have destroyed the heart.

The innocent belief of children is overcast, and the golden play of their imagination is taken from them, to render them wise before the time. People moralise, catechise, and reason with them upon moral, religious, and rationalistic notions, which destroy the magic circle of their innocence,

without procuring for them, in its place, any nobler advantage. That love which they naturally possess, is supplanted by criticisms upon their parents and teachers. Childlike belief and superstition being replaced by a childish oldfashionedness, the luxuriant play of the fancy is succeeded by calm decorum and affectation. How can this be otherwise, when we see thousands upon thousands of books for children in which the foibles of their parents are ridiculed as well as their own; the natural wit of the children is therefore necessarily incited to oppose itself to the pedantry of their teachers, when their feelings and imaginations are blunted by hearing a constant talk about the folly of superstition, and when they themselves hear praised as the highest good that decorum, which points out to their natural but innocent vanity a path which must lead them to a false nature. Nothing but conceptions—conceptions acquired by learning, and mechanically understood—are forced upon the child, so that there is produced in him an unripe thinking, which soon dries up all the emanations of the feelings and of the imagination.

This having been of late acknowledged, pains have been taken to give the boys, by means of an early acquaintance with the poets, and even by instructing them to make verses themselves, a poetical counterpoise to that system of instruction which was far too prosaic. This, however, instead of effecting any good, merely fosters the vanity of the young, and produces, by dozens, immature versemakers, who increase the number

of unfortunate poets, or of useless book-manufacturers.

Pedagogical literature has increased immensely in consequence of these endeavours of such opposite natures,—in consequence of every one wishing to let the world know, by means of a book, what he had been doing at school,—and in consequence of many writing, who never thought of putting their theories into practice. It is divided into a literature for the teachers, and one for the scholars. Plans and views have gradually become so numerous, that special Pedagogical Journals, and School Gazettes, have become necessary to register, survey, and criticise them, in consequence of which mutual onesidedness, the contest has been exceedingly complicated. It must be confessed, that the relations of the school to the church, to the state, to the most pressing wants of practical life, and to the higher wants of humanity and culture, have been variously discussed; that the contest between Humanism and Realism has been carried on with as much acrimony, as profoundness and prolixity: but the contest is not yet decided. The voice of truth, though it may have resounded alone, has either remained unheard, or has been perceived only within a limited circle. The immense application which so many pedagogues show in abusing one another, has as yet had no decisive results. The state has either something else to do, or it is unable to decide for any one in particular,—a fact which is clearly proved by the many revisions which the Bavarian school-plan has undergone.

In one case something may be attained; in another no such thing is ever thought of. Here a school-king plays the oracle, whose name has never been heard out of his own district. Here an excellent book is published; but can we read everything? We are a dismembered, a disunited nation, without any great metropolis, without any mental centre; so that he who preaches among us is always compelled to preach in the wilderness.

The literature destined for the young is naturally compelled to follow in the wake of all the fashions and opinions of their teachers. We may divide this literature into books for instruction, and books for amusement. The books for instruction, are either school-books, intended for teaching, or devotional books, moral admonitions, confirmation books, &c. The books for amusement are models for moral instruction, fables, tales, picture books, and of late, regular children's novels, and plays.

It is not easy to give a decided opinion about the school-books. If they are, as hitherto, to be subject to the caprice and onesidedness, to the ridiculous pedantry, to the craving for originality, nay, even for profit, felt by every individual teacher, it is impossible that we can ever arrive at that requisite simplification, at those correct and proper methods of instruction which are so desirable. If, however, to attain a similarity, the state alone is to be permitted to compose school-books, the question immediately occurs: May not the state itself become onesided? will

not the influence of pedants have a great chance to prevail in the cabinet and in the consistory? and, in the next place, care would have to be taken that no political views interfered with instruction; that the state did not involuntarily imitate the Jesuits; that it did not involuntarily introduce a political casuistry, and castrate the old authors, because in such a career consistent progress is the only practicable method of proceeding.

No restraints, to any extent, have hitherto been imposed on the liberty of composing school-books. It is, however, desirable, that such restraints should be imposed. Almost every teacher wishes to shine as an author; either to distinguish himself by original views, to recommend himself by his dedication, or, perhaps, merely to make money. Every one says, Why should I purchase the compendiums of others? I can make as good an one myself: and thus there is scarcely a school which does not manufacture its own books. This is the reason that so many divisions and niceties are introduced into the school-books, and that so many needless ones are produced. Even the simplest and clearest subjects become complicated: thus, for example, grammar is made so, by too many subdivisions and refinements; mathematics, by an ill arrangement of the contents. Those subjects, too, which are, from their nature, more difficult to be surveyed; for example, geography, history, and natural history, are spun out, at the pleasure of the teacher, into such lengthened detail, that the memory of the scholar falls completely

behind. Let us look at the immense number of geographical compendiums, in which are enumerated all the square miles, the numbers of the inhabitants, all the manufactures and trades, correction-houses and lunatic-asylums, of every country and province, of every town and village of the globe; all which the boys must either commit to memory, or, at least, read in the school. Look at those natural histories, in which the boys are informed how many bands the armadillo has; how much the hind feet of the kangaroo are longer than the fore ones; on what the chameleon feeds, and how many young the ant-lion produces, &c.: yet all the time, if they were to go into the next wood, they would not know the beech from the lime-tree; or into the next field, wheat from barley.

The worst feature is the Elegant Extracts, (*Chrestomathien*) 'exercises in composition,' &c. I once heard a pretty little girl in a boarding-school recite The Curate's Daughter of Taubenheim[6]. Though such blunders do not now occur, yet others as bad are far from being unfrequent. People are very tender; but the very circumstance of their moralising too much, of warning people too much against sin, makes them first pay attention to it. Children are only wearied out with the tasteless, tedious, unprofitable stuff, of which these volumes of extracts are composed.

One of the strangest features of this literature is the intermixture which we find in it of ancient

[6] A poem by Bürger. Taylor gives a translation of it in his Historic Survey of German Poetry, vol. ii. p. 32, &c.

heroism and modern baseness. In one and the same book we may meet among the models of style an eulogy upon Brutus or Timoleon, and alongside of it, a slavish submissive petition for the intercession of a yet higher patron, in a matter connected with some appointment. We glow at Herodotus' account of the Persian war, at the descriptions of Livy or Tacitus; yet we tremble before a consistorial councillor. We praise that courage displayed against the mightiest tyrants, yet crouch before a subaltern clerk.

The state will probably come, by degrees, to exercise a stricter superintendence over school-books. This is a necessary consequence of the tendency of the age. The universities have already been deprived of the power of teaching what they choose; that quieter, yet probably more important, freedom of teaching, which exists in private schools, will not escape untouched. The church and the school are gradually, but irresistibly, becoming more and more the slaves of the state. All teachers of any standing are now made court-councillors (*Hofraethe*); the inferior ones will, in a short time, become mere drilling-machines, who must teach out of a compendium given open into their hands, thus training the young for future office, for future subjection. This is no humorous exaggeration on my part. I firmly believe it. It cannot be otherwise until political freedom has made great progress. Until that time, the school will be and must be, the drilling institution for the state, as certainly as it formerly performed that office for the church;

and I should not be surprised, if the scholars and teachers were obliged to wear a civil uniform, as formerly they did an ecclesiastical one. This has already taken place in Russia.

A medium between the regular school-books and the amusing-instruction books, is formed by the very numerous class of moral and religious silly writings (*Salbadereien*), which, sometimes in prose, sometimes in poetry, persuade the young to good; and which are intended either to convince them of what is good, or to instil it into them, by exciting their feelings.

The worst feature in these books is, the premature reasoning, to which they accustom the young. An answer should always be ready, when the "why" is demanded by the young of their own accord; but if we torment them before that happens, we merely cause the premature birth of untimely thoughts. We must instruct the young in something positive in a dogmatical manner. Wishing nothing else, they will never think of finding fault with this method. As their intellect unfolds, they will begin to doubt and to question, thus procuring an object upon which to exercise their criticism. It is, however, complete poison for the young to claim as true the results of criticism, and to begin with doubts. This is the reason that everything mysterious, strange, foreboding, and exciting, is eradicated, root and branch, as soon as it is felt. The charm of nature is lost to them amidst the bald prose of the natural sciences. Childlike love, that glorious wild-flower, is carefully eradicated, to make way

for the hothouse plants of a stiff, narrow, prescribed, and pedantic morality. We allow to the young as a virtue, only what they do in obedience to a rule; and however good, noble, and amiable, they naturally are, all is considered as nothing, until they have been taught to practise a shallow reflection, until the impulses of nature have been tamed into a spiritless obedience to the commands of duty. And what duties? What is not forced upon their unprejudiced minds? Vice and virtue are both placed before them, before they are capable of practising either, or even of knowing the one from the other; and they are overburdened with rules which make them forget both. We exclaim against the natural religion, as much as against the natural morality of children. They are compelled to meditate as early as possible on the objects of religion, and their thoughts are extorted from them, before their feelings are matured. The mysteries of religion were long rendered suspicious to them, that they might not fall into superstition. At present a very improper method is commonly pursued. As people neither quite believe, nor quite disbelieve, they throw the young into a middle path, which can produce only three evils, all three, however, very dangerous to religion: indifference, which originates in the tedium and insecurity of religious instruction; mocking at religion; or a return to the grossest superstition, if we use any means to escape from this undecided and ambiguous state. (*Halbheit*).

When we pass over to the books intended for

the instruction of those who have just arrived at the years of maturity, we observe in them a strange want of relation to their former instructions. An immature thinking is demanded from children, yet the young men who are now really capable of thinking, are prevented from doing so, by being overloaded with mere empirical, mnemonic knowledge.

The supranaturalist pedagogues (incited by the church) have opposed to this rationalistic reasoning, a twaddle about the feelings, as if that could be of any advantage. Young men read it, and yawn; think of something else, and become more headstrong. This method, instead of inspiring them with noble sentiments, tends only to harden their young hearts. It was long before I could overcome the nauseous recollection of those devotional books which I was compelled to read when young, and the involuntary inattention to religion and morality thereby produced; and before I could again employ a healthy mind in the examination of sacred and eternal things. Thousands have passed through the same stages; silly, weak canting, neither excites nor enlivens us; it hardens us, it chills our hearts. The young are fondest of what is short, direct and strict; they have no love for long-winded moral speeches, for morals, or even for lectures and emotions filled with feeling. It is a pity that pedagogues will not, even though constantly engaged with children, be convinced that the emotion of a child is always the most manly, being always either dumb or bashful—a proof, by the way, that all true emotion is of

this kind, and that the sentimentality which exceeds it, is nothing but an effeminate ill-breeding or affectation! It is a pity that pedagogues invariably mistake their own weakness or false education for the powerful nature of the young! A boasting, sentimental, moving speech, can never be fitted for children; if such, therefore, be put into the mouths of the young, they are completely false, and are looked upon as such by the children themselves. Where on earth could any child have, of itself, fallen in with those beautiful set speeches which it has to learn by heart and repeat like a parrot on holidays, birthdays, &c.? Where will any child, when it is excited, find words for its emotion—well-arranged and well-selected words? At present, almost the whole of the educated public unite in demanding, that the teacher shall address himself frankly and pleasantly to the hearts of the children. The ancient system of catechetical instruction appears too rude for this enlightened and sentimental age. Yet the only part of the old literal practice, which can, with justice, be blamed, is, the committing to memory of those silly collections of proverbs, the songs of Gellert, &c., which, by their vulgarity and insipidity, of course wearied the young to death, and caused them first to dislike, then to ridicule religion. Many of these proverbs and hymns are so shamelessly disgusting, that we really wonder what is the use of our consistories and synods, since they do not prevent such mischief. I once, for example, heard a pretty little girl, of about ten or twelve, committing to memory,

as a task, all the while with the sweetest air of innocence, out of one of these miserable proverb-books, the following lines of a poem, by Gellert, if I am not mistaken:

Corruption marks his brow with shame,
And in that visible decay
We trace the story of his frame,
By vices foul consumed away.

Conduct like this cannot be sufficiently blamed. But the reasoning about religion, or the affectation of sensibility when speaking to children, is just as blameworthy. Are these coarse expositions, edifying remarks, lectures and parental letters, in which our sensual hypocrites, telling maidens about their innocence, attempt to instruct them in the art of modesty, as if it were not an inborn feeling—are these godless writings less impure than the old well-meant hymn of the pious Gellert? Books such as the Consecration of the Virgin, by Theresa Huber, ought, every one, to be burnt. The more moral they are, the more lovely their contents sound, the more certainly should they all be burnt. The instruction of girls in all things pertaining to their sex ought to be always oral, nay, generally dumb; that is, mere example, mere behaviour. Even mothers need no printed directions; their own experience must make them capable of giving instruction. The whole of the extensive literature of those Moral Discourses for Females, Consecration Presents for Maidens, &c., is unnecessary, if not positively injurious. It is, surely, exceedingly unnatural that Theresa Huber should, in the above-

mentioned Consecration of the Virgin, deliver long addresses about modesty, &c. If a maiden be not modest by nature, how can she become so by means of a book? how can she learn anything out of a book but pure hypocrisy? If she be bashful, what use has she for the book? what other effect can it have than that of causing her to meditate upon modesty, a mode of proceeding which, as is well known, never promotes it? Maidens must be guided, not by reasoning, but by the unchangeable letter of the law; and their natural childlike confidence must not be prematurely destroyed by untimely sophistry and fanaticism. There will be time enough for these afterwards, when the mind having become stronger and more impressed with the seriousness of things, feels less inclined for exaggeration or levity. If we may adopt the wishes of husbands as a criterion, every husband will be very well satisfied with a wife who walks simply and honestly in the faith of her fathers; but certainly not with an enthusiast, who is spoiled by an eternal talking about the feelings, and still less with a scorner, whom the Rationalists have compressed in their wooden hands, like a flower in an herbarium.

The wish to destroy completely the old night of barbarism, and to promote the spread of humanity and the treasures of mental culture, betokens a noble spirit. May it long be the favourite wish of young men to see the ideal of all mental perfection personified in his beloved, and to behold the noblest and most cultivated mind in the fairest body. But world-old experience proves that we

live on earth and not in heaven; that on earth the Necessary precedes the Advantageous, the Advantageous the Agreeable; that our short span of life is so filled with labour and toil that we have little room left for these tender blooms of culture: and even supposing that men had the requisite opportunities, that headstrong nature which lies in themselves would struggle against them. Whoever knows mankind, and in particular, whoever knows the fair sex, must allow, that its nature possesses far too much primitive strength, is too self-willed and too much isolated, to submit in quietness to every tame system of education. That mental workshop, in which the inclinations, the resolutions, and secret knowledge of females are produced, is seldom profaned by the look, never by the introduction of the system, of a man.

We men ought to propagate a true cultivation among ourselves, instead of forcing our little knowledge upon the females, who know by nature far more than we do, and who do not require to know what we know better.

By far the greater part of the so-called *Salbadereien*[7] are destined for young females. About an hundred such works are yearly published. The teachers and patrons of private institutions have most to do with them, (for weak systems of education and boarding-schools have ever gone hand in hand,) because none but the masters and mistresses of these boarding-schools, who wished to gather together as many boarders as possible, could

[7] Weak books on religious subjects, written in a silly strain.

have thought of flattering the parents by the kindest treatment, nay, even by a real deification, of their little darlings. In the state as well as at home, children are treated without much ceremony; they are looked upon merely as immature men, who will probably become mature. In boarding-schools, however, parents are made to believe that their children are very extraordinary ones; a delicacy is therefore affected in treating them, which is generally injurious, and always hypocritical. When, therefore, Herr Wilmsen says: "Let all slavish obedience be banished, that the child may become conscious of its own dignity as a human being;" and when he speaks of a pedagogical wisdom, according to which every child must be treated with the tenderest attention, in a way befitting its peculiar dispositions, we look upon these fine words as mere lirum-larum hocus-pocus; for, on the contrary, nothing is better fitted for the young than a proper military drilling, and nothing can be more hurtful to them, than that each child should have, as it were, its own court,—that all should watch the expressions of his most gracious temper, and guide themselves thereby—that, at every breach of decorum, it should be reminded, with courtly phrases, of its own dignity, in place of being soundly whipt, &c. The whole scheme, however, is nonsensical, because it is impracticable. Children will be treated before it, as well as after it, as darling little barbarians, who, though they are darlings, are still barbarians; and if Herr Wilmsen be really in such want of freedom and manly dignity, we

would recommend him to address himself to men and not to children.

Yet we must look upon Herr Wilmsen as a true honest German, for, to allow that women should be free, and that children should be treated with dignity, yet all the time himself to remain unfree and undignified, has long been the characteristic of a German man;—if the nation may be judged of by the sentimental majority of its authors, and the events of a passing period. It is still a striking characteristic, that, at the time of the periwigs and queues, when the German men had reached the lowest stage of weakness, effeminacy, slavery, nay, even a certain fanatical love of slavery, they were then using their utmost endeavours to emancipate the fair sex, and to impart to their own children the lost dignity of mankind. The German never renounces his good nature, so that, though he despises himself, he still rejoices that others are at least better than himself.

The proper 'entertaining literature for children' is even more numerous than the instructive. Germany is inundated with it. Nürnberg and Vienna are its principal manufactories. Here the pedagogues do not labour alone; the business has become a book-speculation of the publishers. Whole stores of books, as of other toys for children, are formed, and a mercantile competition is carried on. Booksellers are enabled to do this, because there is no unity among the teachers, and because the rage for fashion goes so far, that we will give the children nothing but novelties. About Christmas, the shops of the booksellers are filled with pa-

rents and those fond of children, who buy up every brilliant little novelty which the last fair produced. Parents, as well as children, grasp at the newest gewgaws. The teachers work into the hands of the booksellers, and continually write new books, not to improve the old ones, but to get money and fame by them. The true children's friend fights in vain against this flood of books for children.

It is remarkable that these books are calculated more for the parents than for their children. This is the case, because the parents select and pay for them, and because but few have tact enough to know what is best fitted for the minds of the young. Books, therefore, even those for the very youngest, are filled with Philistinism and would-be-wise morality. The parents wish for something solid and rational, the poor children must therefore wish for the same, though they would be satisfied if they had a few coloured pictures. The popular tales (*Mährchen*), the true children's poetry, have been long despised and banished. What was the use of such childish things? was the universal cry; yet people had children before them. They were afraid that the tales would fill their minds with superstition, or at least that they would, by engaging their imagination too much, draw them away from their lessons. Thence came it that instructive stories were written—examples from the real world of children—about pious Gottlieb, about inquisitive Frank, and about the sweet-mouthed Lotte—stories, the commonplace prose of which destroyed all the natural

inborn poetry of children. Whilst, however, they were deprived of all those beauties for which their young hearts are so susceptible, and by means of which they are educated as human beings, their feelings and imagination were both abused, in order to train their yet undeveloped intellect. No picture, no story was allowed to work upon their young minds, without some one informing them what it meant, what was its moral; thus by these shallow explanations spoiling the effect, as well as the poetical charm. They intended that children should no longer learn anything without knowing what they were doing; they wished them to learn everything with a consciousness of what they were about,—with a proper perception of its purport.

Romanticism having at last begun to flourish, Tieck, Arnim, and Fouqué, re-introduced the ancient children's tales (*Kindermährchen*). A compromise had been entered into to the effect that the moral should be the principal matter, but that the children might be allowed a little cheerful amusement, when all at once a perfect flood of books broke in. This consisted of the novels for children (*Kinderromane*), which have followed almost all the directions taken by those for grown-up people; thus our novels being divided into domestic and historical, this distinction is also visible in the tales intended for the young.

The domestic novels for children form the commencement; they are older than the historical; they belong to that period in which the family happiness described by Lafontaine, the Louise of Voss, and the domestic happiness of Starke were

the rage, and they are still continued, although matters have taken another turn, for in former times they chiefly described happy marriages and domestic life, while in modern times our authoresses, such as Pichler, Schopenhauer, Huber, Chezy, Hanke, Tarnow, &c., have painted little but unhappy unions, adulteries, and the lives of old maids. The domestic novels for children being something of the nature of the former, overflow with love for fathers, love for mothers, love for brothers, love for sisters, love for grandfathers, love for grandmothers, love for uncles, love for aunts, love for teachers, &c. &c.; and with all possible kinds of sentimentalities, weaknesses, family farces, and hypocrisy. The parade of virtue, the prating about the feelings with which these books are filled, must of course have a bad effect upon the children, either appearing to them ridiculous or making them hypocrites. True domestic virtue never talks so much about itself; true feeling is dumb. Were my children ever to address me in those good set terms, which we find put into the mouths of good and pious children in books, I would certainly reprimand them, as affected fools, or punish them as hypocrites. Were I a censor, in the Roman sense of the word, I would cause the authors of those wretched books to be scourged with another rod than that of criticism. But if I were Napoleon, I would always carry with me some such books, along side of Goethe's Werther (as Napoleon really did) to remind me continually that a nation which possessed such books, would allow itself to be treated in any way.

HISTORY.

THE study of History is now the order of the day. Theology, philosophy, and poetry, were, in former times, swayed by the powers of abstraction and the imaginative faculties; this, however, is now done by inductive knowledge. Men then left the firm ground of reality to live in heaven, in the dreamy heights of the mind, in the fairy-land of poetry; now, as we have begun to experience the uncomfortable feelings attendant upon such an unreal life, or, rather, as we have been so roughly awakened from our dreams by the terrors of the French Revolution and the hurricane caused by Napoleon, and have thus been compelled, against our inclination, to distinguish between the value of what exists, and the worthlessness of what we only imagine—now, we would fain return to activity. But the German is still condemned merely to think and to write.

His longing for deeds is manifested only in the unprecedented zeal with which he studies the deeds of the past.

To this must be added the circumstance, that the other Muses have almost all survived their power. Neither philosophy nor theology show any symptoms of life, and even poetry is at present suffering from a glut. Dissatisfied with the present, we return in all the sciences and arts back into the past, and study them historically, so as to be better able to find their best features, or, by means of an accurate knowledge of everything, to comfort ourselves with the idea, that we cannot become enthusiastic about one thing.

Hence arises the boundless historical literature, and those thousands of works, in which we see unfolded before our reflecting mind, like an almost boundless panorama, the universal histories, the histories of individual periods, nations, countries or persons, states, religions, customs, sciences, and arts. From this cause also proceeds that historical tendency which prevails in our imaginative literature—the immense number of historical novels and tragedies.

Though such a strong propensity for historical inquiries could have been caused only by outward events, by the spirit of the age, and by the tendency of a whole nation, yet the power of carrying of it into operation lay, and still lies, almost entirely in the hands of professional scholars. This study, therefore, being still enveloped amidst the whole chaos of the defects of the school, has not yet been elevated from the rank of an affair

belonging to school pedantry, to that of a free and noble national spirit.

Before the school learned the use of criticism, it founded its researches upon poly-history. It collected nothing but historical facts, which it heaped mountains high. Materials were collected in folio and quarto volumes, not only for the history of a great nation, but even for that of the families of petty princes and counts. Huge commentaries were written on the genealogies, not only of princes, but even of common country gentlemen and city patricians. It was history written by the servants for their masters. The works were, in reality, mere appendixes to the dedication. There was no conception of a public able to enjoy and appreciate such works: there could be none of such a public, for such an one did not exist. Only individual families, only candidates for office and towns took any interest in the stupendous erudition of these historiographers in full-bottomed wigs. With the exception of some valuable collections of old histories, of some useful histories of the Empire, and first attempts at surveys of the history of the world, nothing was written which was of any general interest; and though now and then a better special-history appeared, yet it was physically impossible to base an historical culture of a nation upon the reading of such countless, ponderous tomes of local studies, which were filled with the most useless materials. It was necessary that umpires, that is, critics, should make their appearance, who might separate the wheat from the chaff.

We must not accuse the school with being the original cause of this parcelling out of historical details, with this total want of any general survey; this was the consequence of our unfortunate partition into so many petty independent states. The school, however, must be reproached with having, even long after a better spirit had been called into life, wittingly, and from servile motives, fostered in the bosom of our great nation the evil spirit of disunion and private jealousy, of political littlemindedness and provincialism[8]. Even in our own day, in pursuance of the example set by Johannes Müller, in his History of Switzerland, by Zschokke, in his History of Bavaria, &c. &c., those special histories have become fashionable, in which not only single branches of the German stem, but even mere twigs accidentally broken off, or patched parts of a branch, are trumpeted forth as original independent nations. These contemptible historians, affecting to disavow a unity of the German nation, place the boundaries of nationalities in those irregular lines which feudalism and family acquisitions have drawn through the midst, and in spite, of these nationalities.

The pedantry of the former, and the treasonable provincial spirit of the latter, prevailed, with

[8] *Krähwinkelei.* The village of Krähwinkel was famous for the stupidity of its inhabitants, and for the foolish tricks which they played. The inhabitants of Krähwinkel and of Schilda, the latter of whom have been immortalized in one of the *Volksbücher*, bear the same character in Germany, as the Abderites did in Greece, and as the "Wise Men of Gotham" do among us.

a certain degree of *naïveté*, till about the middle of last century. Till then there was, properly speaking, no historical criticism among us, and the learned thought they were doing their utmost, when following the old custom, and adding, perhaps, some elegancy of style borrowed from French courtiers.

The period of criticism now commenced. The great English historians became our models. The ancient Germans had conquered England, had given to it a new population, a new language, and, impelled, as it were, by an internal longing, had saved their freedom upon this happy island, where its remembrance might continue to live, and whence they might one day hope to bring it back. In free England there were yet manly minds endowed with an independent creative power, whilst the effeminate Germans could do nothing but ape their betters. We had borrowed all our culture from Italy and France, and had completely spoiled ourselves with these models. What Italian (*Welsche*) scholasticism, Italian law, Italian medicine had left still sound in us, was totally destroyed by the French licentiousness and sentimentality which invaded us after the time of Rousseau. It was fortunate for us that this imitative propensity, with which our ancestors, who, unfortunately, lived in such a wretched state, were animated, at last led them to England, there for the first time to learn again what manly dignity really was.

The English created history, therefore they understood how to write it. The scholar was not

there, as with us, a despised domestic, who would have been ridiculed and punished, had he interfered in politics. The meanest Englishman participated in the government, in the choice of his representative, by means of the publicity of the parliament and courts of justice, and by a free press. There the scholars being themselves statesmen, they could obtain a clear view of the position of their own country, and thence learn to understand the condition of other nations of ancient and modern times. Their views were unfettered and noble. The views of the German scholars were clouded and narrowed. The former were proud men; the latter were effeminate pedants and school-servants.

The German, however, would necessarily have been even more to be pitied than he then was, had not his better nature turned him to that light, which entered in struggling rays through the dim walls of his prison. The poets now introduced the Anglomania, in place of the Gallomania, which had hitherto borne an undisputed sway; and as a great German province, Hanover, was dependent upon England, many of the Hanoverian and Brunswick scholars in Göttingen and Wolfenbüttel, such as Lessing, Schlözer, Spittler, and Lichtenberg, were enabled to praise the English institutions in general, as well as its political constitution, without being considered as traitors.

Yet it was even then impossible for German scholars to write a history of their country with such free unprejudiced views, as the English did theirs. The most talented among them, there-

fore turned away from German history, to universal history, and to the history of ancient and foreign nations.

Yet the courage displayed by these historians was not, and could hardly be, political. The bold and intrepid Schlözer himself durst not say of the great tyrants what he said of the little ones. The great majority of those historians who adopted the English style, confined their liberality to a very easy condemnation or ridicule of the ancient superstition. After Voltaire became the fashionable author, the courts adopted this kind of enlightenment, and the scholars were permitted to introduce it into their schools. No heroic courage was required for this. The Anglomanists, Voltairians, and reformers of the world, after the method of Rousseau, were joined even by the Illuminati on the side of Catholicism, and all united in ridiculing the middle ages. The awkwardness of the ancient Holy Roman Empire was done away with, in style, as well as in thoughts; and it became a frivolous mocker, a reasoner, a young springald. The venerable old periwigs were flung into the fire, and people in queues and bags considered themselves very enlightened, indicating by their meshes the zephyr-like flight of their mind.

The gentlemen took the matter very easy. What they did not understand they got rid of by denying. That historical scepticism, which was so celebrated, and which became fashionable in consequence of the example set by Schlözer, Rühs, &c., proceeded upon the principle of re-

jecting as a silly fable everything that was not natural and reasonable, according to the notions of the modern enlightenment.

They denied the authenticity of the myths, pretending that they were the invention of the priests. Rühs maintained that the old Norse Edda was a fabrication of the Anglo-Saxon monks; Voss was convinced that the Hindoo Sakontala was a fabrication of the Alexandrian Greeks, &c. They thought proper to reject the oldest legends which are found in historical works, or to speak of them only with shame, as of foolish stories. This folly was quite natural. People formerly believed too much; now they believed too little. The Jesuits had formerly rendered the old venerable historical traditions corrupt and despicable, by their silly monkish tales of a later age; the protestant black-coats did the same, by means of the most hideous stories about devils, ghosts, and witches. It was therefore natural, that the beauty and truth concealed in the traditions (*Sagen*) should be for some time condemned, in consequence of the general hatred felt towards the lies connected with religion. This has done no great injury to science, for the later Romanticists have taken care that all the old legends should again be brought to light. We must, however, lament, that, during the latter half of last century, exactly at the time when the historical scepticism and the contempt of the myths was prevalent, so many voyages of discovery were made to other nations, and that scientific travellers often paid homage to

the fashions of the age, while they either totally neglected, or were ashamed to have any connexion with, the legends of strange and savage nations.

The hatred and contempt displayed against the middle ages was still more striking. The old grudge entertained by Protestants towards the Papacy, was now exchanged for a noble wrath shown by the political liberals against feudalism. The time was approaching when a revolution was to arise out of the Reformation. The less that men were permitted to act, the more strongly was their hatred displayed in books. Thus in France they wrote far more violently against the middle ages before the Revolution than after it; in Germany, on the contrary, they now wrote far more violently against them than in France. The indignation felt at that cause, the consequences of which we do not like, is very natural; but it has exceeded all bounds. They went even so far as to consider the noble gothic buildings as tasteless, merely because they were produced by the middle ages. They no longer praised the knights of olden times and their deeds; and this merely because they had been feudal barons, &c. They even went so far as to find fault with the *free* institutions of the middle ages, merely because they belonged to that period. There was no want of servile fellows, who, deriving advantage from this reviling of the middle ages, praised, as the only means of safety, that modern absolutism which had been introduced by Louis XIV., and still more by Frederick the Great. As long as any of the ecclesiastical property remained unsecularized, as

the petty princes and counts of the empire were not mediatized, as long as even the more powerful princes were in some degree restrained by the ancient constitution of the empire, so long might every one at pleasure ridicule, without dread of the consequences, those middle ages, in which there still remained elements which we would not willingly destroy.

Thus the liberal and servile historians rivalled one another in mocking everything which had happened before the Reformation.

But as the great majority of German scholars studied history, as they did every other science, only for the sake of the science itself, without ever comprehending how they could apply it in a practical manner to the present times, the influence of these political dislikes was far from being of much importance. The history of ancient times and of foreign nations formed the general study; or, at least, the most profound and influential historians preferred investigating the histories of distant ages and nations, and neglecting our own.

In this way the better sceptics were followed by a great number of undecided, but profound historians, who, adding to the assiduity in collecting materials displayed by former ages, the more acute criticism of modern times, strove, with that universal love so peculiar to the Germans, to throw light upon the most remote nooks of history. Though we had no colonies, we took more interest than the English in foreign parts of the globe. We studied without fee, without any direct profit or thanks, the histories of the earliest ages, of

the most distant countries and nations, merely for the sake of knowledge. Heeren, Schlözer, Niebuhr, Mannert, &c., are examples of this.

Herder was the first who endeavoured to find the internal connection which must obtain among such many-sided struggles, the harmony in this new historical concert. He showed how the sense for the most minute details regarding foreign nationalities and customs, is based on the still higher and universal sense of the Germans for a general world-harmony, on the endeavour to comprehend all, to survey all. His Ideas towards the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, is one of the most important works of last century—one, indeed, which will be so for all ages.

Long before Schelling arose, this universally-admired work taught, that history represents in time the same regular variety which nature does in space; and that it would be as improper to reject whole periods of history, as to wish to condemn whole natural kingdoms. He showed, that truth can be seen and known only by surveying history, as made up of many events which bear a certain relation to one another; and that, on the contrary, every undue exaltation or depression of any single event, must necessarily lead to a view which is onesided, and generally unjust.

Acting upon this view, people began, first to excuse, then to admire the middle ages; until, at last, they fell back into the opposite extreme, refusing to acknowledge the value of anything except the middle ages.

The first respect paid to them was by the noble Justus Möser[9]. Montesquieu, the greatest political genius among the French, had shortly before declared, that all the freedom of modern times had proceeded from the Teutonic forests. Justus Möser showed this in his excellent History of Osnabrück, by being the first to prove, by means of the most profound study of the history and documents of his Saxon country, that freedom of the German nation, which has now vanished away. They did not yet know how to use the ancient documents, yet they loved the man who could tell such beautiful things about the freedom and honour of their forefathers, to their disgraced posterity, who were branded with the mark of slavery. At that time, when many thousand Germans, sold by their princes for gold, were dragged in fetters to the Cape of Good Hope, to Java, to the West Indies, there to assist the Dutch and English in oppressing other nations; at that time, when Germany was full of miniature Versailles, in which French immorality and the French language reigned supreme, whilst the Jesuits and protestant black-coats rivalled each other in proclaiming despotism as commanded by God himself: even at that time there were some few minds which were not totally crushed by this oppression, some men who felt disposed to hear about the former freedom of the great German nation. The

[9] Justus Möser, born at Osnabrück, 1720; died, ibid. Jan. 7th, 1794. Patriotic Fancies; History of Osnabrück; Miscellaneous Writings.

same Möser wrote Patriotic Fancies, in which he gave much good advice applicable to practical life, teaching men to enlighten the intellect and elevate the heart. They were not addressed to the learned, but directly to the people, whose most important interests they addressed. But the unfettered spirit of the learned caste was still too powerful. The example of Möser was not imitated.

A totally different man, with a mind the complete contrast of that of Möser, took possession of the public regards, by assuming an appearance of the greatest liberality, and a language which affected the old German trueheartedness, and the *naïveté* of the middle ages. The German public have scarcely ever been more shamefully deceived. This man was Johannes Müller[1], whom, of all German authors, I most despise. Under the mask of republicanism, he served and betrayed every patron. Under the mask of freedom he was always a cringing sycophant[2]; under the mask of patriotism, a traitor; under that of honesty and frankness, a complete knave. He constantly prated of freedom, of confederates, of ancestors, and talked about Tell and Winkelried, in a way which could not be borne; yet he, at one and the same time, paid court to each and all of the petty tyrants in Switzerland; he praised

[1] Johannes von Müller, born at Schaffhausen, June 3rd, 1752; died May 24th, 1809. Twenty-four books of Universal History; History of the Swiss Confederacy; other minor Histories.

[2] *Speichellecker*, lickspittle.

the democrats here, the aristocrats there, the oligarchy in one place, the priests in another, just as each happened to be the ruling party; he crouched before every one, even the pettiest tyrant; and called all this freedom, and valued himself upon this freedom. Hirzel and Zimmermann alone had courage to lay bare the disgraceful conduct of the Swiss patricians. Hirzel said of the Bernese, that they had cut off the head of the noble Henzi, because it was their only one; and Zimmermann said: "a foreign scholar came a few years ago to Switzerland, to settle in a land where liberty of thought was permitted; he stayed ten days in Zürich, and then set off for Portugal." Thus were the truth-lovers of that period compelled to judge of Switzerland. Johannes Müller, however, bowing in every direction, saw nothing but free Switzers and honest brave confederates in every quarter. He showed his opinions by trumpeting forth the stupid Philistines of Zürich, the brutal aristocrats of Berne, and the barbarous boors of Appenzel, who butchered the noble Suter—all without distinction, as the true descendants of Tell, as the supports of freedom and right. Yet he did not remain faithful to his so-lauded Switzerland; he took no part in the great commotions which agitated his Fatherland, but preferred growing fat in the service of princes. He sold himself to the priests, and wrote the Travels of the Popes. Then the French Revolution broke out. Without an instant's delay he deserted his master and benefactor, the Elector of Mainz; he besought the Mainzers to join the banner of the French republic;

and returning expressly for that purpose to Mainz, he sold himself to the Jacobins, became a French citizen, and was employed by the Jacobin general Dumouriez, in his negotiations with the Prussians. Having again deserted the French republic, he sold himself to Prussia, to despotism, and the Russian party. He, a hypocrite, who still kept up a connection with his native independent Switzerland,—he, formerly a Jacobin agent and an honorary citizen of the French republic, now employed his pen in writing pamphlets in the Russian interest, in opposition to France, rousing the people with a voice of thunder, by his Trumpet (*Posaune*), to that ill-fated war which terminated with the peace of Tilsit. Instead of remaining faithful to his master during misfortune, he deserted him and went over to Napoleon, who placed him in a responsible situation under his brother in the new kingdom of Westphalia. This same Johannes Müller, who seemed ready to lay down his life for the honour of Prussia, who in the most highflown phrases, had roused the nation to war against France,—this very man, clad in the uniform of Jerome Napoleon, who had erected his new kingdom upon the ruins of that of Prussia, now ridiculed the misfortunes of Prussia.

His provincialism and his affected style, both of which have been often imitated, have exercised an exceedingly prejudicial influence upon historical literature.

Johannes Müller drew a broad line of distinction between the Swiss and the Germans, thus enabling himself to write their history with such

a refined attention to the end in view, in everything which he either brought forward into notice or suppressed, that he almost persuadad many, that they had always been an independent aboriginal race, and not a mere branch of the great German stem, a member of the great German empire. After an unfortunate system of politics had led us into misfortune, and misfortune into self-oblivion, the historical and natural connection of the Germans was entirely lost sight of. The interests of one man and the bad habits of another, make each mistake the adventitious and ever-changing boundaries of petty states for the permanent and natural boundaries of nations: in a word, they prevent them admitting of an unity of Germany even in an ideal sense, but cause them to say with Marshal Davoust, who loved Germany so dearly: "There are no Germans, but merely Swiss, Würtembergers, Bavarians, &c." If it is the vocation of any one to disprove these arguments of our bitterest enemies, our most contemptuous despisers, and to call to mind, if not what should be, at least what has been, in Germany, it is that of the historian. Johannes Müller, however, abused the talent intrusted to him, by defending, praising, and rendering fashionable, at the price of nationality, every petty, false, unpatriotic, and unnatural shade of provincialism. The ancient simple, special historians of former times satisfied themselves with taking as their task and giving a minute account of one distinct royal family, or one definite city within the bounds of the German

Confederacy; without, in so doing, denying the connection of the whole German nation. Many, however, following the example set by Johannes Müller, have, since that time wished to see Germany divided, not only among various princes, but also among many various nations, entirely distinct from one another. Such an affected estrangement among nations sprung from the same great stem, and neighbours, took such a hold in Germany, that it was considered right and proper, to look upon the inhabitants of the next village as New-Zealanders, if one of the thirty-eight German boundaries happened to intervene. The most ridiculous feature of the whole is that mastery usurped over the past, by which certain districts, after having, in consequence of a new partition, been annexed to some other state, are looked upon as having always belonged to that country to which they are annexed. Thus, in former times, the whole past history of Anspach and Bayreuth belonged to that of Prussia—a people of a totally different and independent origin; now, this same history belongs to that of the Bavarians—a nation likewise of a distinct independent origin. There were lately published some old Prussian legends, in which those of the Rhine were placed side by side with the Sclavonic traditions of the Baltic and the Weichsel (*Vistula*). We not only impress our stamp upon the present, we also wish to restamp the past.

We further owe to the worthless Johannes Müller, the introduction of a very affected style into the writing of history. His soul, void of ho-

nour, and which had no sympathy with truth, could, of course, play the hypocrite only in high-flown phrases. A bombastic style is always the symptom of a dishonest mind, for truth expresses itself simply; the knave is always known by the far-fetched sentimentality, by the nauseous warmth of his style.

The style of Johannes Müller, which, if we may believe many of our school-pedants, is an insurpassable and truly classic model, is a mere affected imitation, partly of Tacitus, partly of Tschudi,—a repulsive heterogeneous mixture, which is untrue in every respect. Where the subject affords no room for feeling, he introduces a sentimental phrase. On the most trivial occasions he puffs up his cheeks and assumes a higher tone. Where the accent does not exist in the object he places it in the language, like bad lecturers, who read a godfather's letter like an ode of Pindar.

I would not have alluded to this tastelessness of style, were it not that it goes hand-in-hand with an evil tendency. This affected euphuism (*Schönrednerei*) always appears, when any one wishes to throw dust in the eyes of the good people, hoping thus to pass off any political baseness as patriotism and high virtue. Wherever men were successful in scorning the unfortunate, and in arming stupidity against a noble principle, they assumed the "Trumpet" tone of Johannes Müller, and studied that false language of the sentiment which, with the cold scorn of age in the background, affects youthful enthusiasm, betrays the

fatherland in the name of the fatherland, represses freedom, under the pretext of forwarding it in the most energetic manner, nay, even of sacrificing itself for it; which calls the most cruel tyrant not merely a great and good prince, and father of his people, but even purposely a rescuer and protector of freedom, just because he oppresses it, and of nationality, because he eradicates it. In former times, it was sufficient for the vanquished to throw himself humbly down at the feet of the victor; at present, we must, if we use the style of Johannes Müller, thank the victor for freeing us. Johannes Müller called the dismembering and Frenchifying of the Germans by Napoleon, a restoration of their nationality. Did not that same Johannes Müller say in the assembly of the Westphalian states, that Napoleon had restored the German nationality, because the stupid Germans could not, without "an impulse from without," do aught of themselves? And did not Johannes Müller thank Napoleon in the most moving language, full of German sentimentality, for all the honour which he had conferred upon Germany?

We have only to read our historical, political, or even only our periodical literature, to be thoroughly convinced, how much ground this hypocritical language of the feelings has gained.

The euphuists (*Schönredner*) are, fortunately, far less numerous than the assiduous historians, who have merely collected materials and investigated facts without troubling themselves much about their style. Had not this been the case, Johannes Müller would have been much oftener imitated.

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Johannes Müller formed the transition from the Revolution to the Restoration. A new kind of historians was generated by the latter of these events.

The timid attempts made to restore the middle ages to the honourable position which they formerly held, were changed into an enthusiastic love for them, as soon as the French Revolution had wrought for the princes of Europe such bitter woe, that they, looking back with regret to those past ages which had shown themselves more obedient, repented of having in any way promoted the frivolous spirit of modern times. What was the consequence of the destruction of the ancient church, the interests of which had been so zealously promoted by the princes? The old religious feelings of the people had been undermined. Their fidelity was shaken along with their belief. What was the consequence of that poetry and philosophy which had been so much favoured by the French court? Revolution. Would that men had held by the jesuits, by the old church, by the ancient aristocracy, by the differences of rank—in short, that they had remained faithful to the middle ages! This being now the opinions of those governments, they approved of and supported all the attempts made by individual scholars, artists, and poets, (often with very different motives,) to renew in vivid colours the remembrance of the middle ages.

Philosophy under the banner of Schelling, poetry under that of Tieck, gained for romanticism a victory so complete, that even historiography acquired a romantic tinge. The legendary

history (*Sagengeschichte*), despised by Schlözer, was again adopted; and whilst the historical sceptics had proceeded upon the assumption that man had gradually been raised by lucky inventions, from a state of brutality to civilization and culture, Frederick Schlegel, on the other hand, assumed a principle directly opposite, maintaining that men were originally completely perfect, but had, by degrees, in consequence of sin and degeneration, lost the higher powers imparted to them by God. Whilst the sceptics wished to do away with the confused and obscure rubbish of ancient tales, so that they might be enabled to turn to the bright light of modern times; the romanticists, on the contrary, recommended a totally different course of procedure, deserting the every-day prose of modern corrupt times, and searching for the source of all knowledge, poetry, and life, in those ancient sacred legends. From this source proceeded the profound inquiries of Görres, Creuzer, Ritter, Kanne, Rhode, Windischmann, &c.

Romanticism was but coldly received by the political historians of the middle ages and of modern times. The sceptics, the rationalists, the illuminati, and the impartial historians, continued to maintain their precedence in this department. The middle ages were loudly extolled in church histories, like those of Stollberg and Katerkamp; in philosophical and political systems, like those of Frederick Schlegel and Haller, &c.; and especially in poetry, as by Tieck, Arnem, Fouqué, &c.; while the works dedicated to political history almost entirely neglected them. The greatness

alone of these ages was here acknowledged in general terms, no one wishing to raise them unconditionally above ours, or even to attempt to restore them.

I must allude particularly to this circumstance: all the faculties paid more or less homage to the romantic principles of the Restoration; history, however, paid the least. This was very natural. A closer investigation of the history of the middle ages moderated, as might have been expected, the enthusiasm felt for them, which had been awakened by the art and poetry of ancient times; and, in an especial manner, by the outward splendour of the ancient church. A political motive, too, of some importance, opposed an unconditional praising of the middle ages, at that very moment when the unity of Germany seemed no longer necessary. Union against France was required; in the hour of utmost need—in the period from 1809 to 1813 every one liked to hear of an united Germany, of the olden glory and might of the German kingdom under one emperor. This period, however, lasted but a short time. When Napoleon was hurled from his throne the old distinctions were again resumed in all their strictness. After that era men were permitted to praise only those features of the middle ages which were in any way connected with a strict distinction of ranks, with the precedence of the nobility, with the servitude of the peasantry; they were, however, forbidden to allude to those which bore any reference to the unity of the empire, or to the subordination of the princes to the emperor. This was the reason

why those historians, who paid homage to the spirit of the age, have, since the Restoration, shown but a limited and conditioned admiration for the middle ages. Instead of praising them as a whole, and allowing the perfect justice and rectitude of their two great institutions, the church and the state, they singled out the romantic histories of individual royal families, which they invested with all the charms of wonder and excitement, by pointing out their origin amidst the comparatively late destruction of the empire, as mythical, and as the real commencement of history. During the age of Louis XIV. the whole ancient mythology and art had been ransacked to derive the royal dignity of the periwigs of the seven electors from all the gods and goddesses;—now romanticism, the German legends, the old German art and poetry were ransacked as a rich armoury of flattery, which had hitherto been unjustly neglected.

Those histories which have been written lately, are characterized by a certain cold and precise gentility, and affected impartiality, an, as it were, exalted superciliousness, which is, however, at bottom, merely that of an anxious mind. This is also a consequence of the condition of the age. This fault must be pardoned in Herr von Raumer and many others of this kind. Employed in the public service, with noble connections, not only subjected to the censorship, but even himself censor, decreeing, where it appears advisable to issue a public order, that historians should speak only in a favourable manner of the ancestors of

the reigning dynasty[3]: how is it possible that a man so situated can write in another way than Herr von Raumer does? It is painful, however, to see how the human mind must wind and turn itself in its endeavours to appear independent and unprejudiced under such circumstances.

This may serve as a compendium of the historiographical tendencies which have prevailed since the middle of last century. Let us now consider the labours of historians according to their subjects.

Universal history has long been a problem to historians, which the oldest chroniclers had already attempted to solve; nay, even at no distant period, the historians of any monastery or imperial town were fond of commencing with Adam, and repeating over the whole biblical and Roman history, even though they had to conclude this catalogue of personages noted in history, with some petty abbot or burgomaster. They commonly divided the history of the world according to the system of the four monarchies, assuming that we are at present living in the last of them. The imperial crown was the visible symbol of the dominion of the world, consequently also of the history of the world.

[3] An allusion to Fr. Förster's Life of Frederick Wilhelm I. Förster relates in this biography many eccentric and amusing peculiarities of the monarch. The court was so scandalized with it, that it ordered that no one should again be permitted to speak in such a way of any of the ancestors of the present dynasty. See Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. xvi. (No. 31), p. 38.

The scholastic treatment of the history of the world became common at the time when the Reformation occurred, and humanism became prevalent. Men then longed for manuals for instruction, for a systematic survey for schools, as well as for a greater perfection for the teachers. This feeling produced the *Chronicon Carionis*, which, as it was the first attempt to survey the history of the world, was very much praised. Polyhistory, however, retained a decided preponderance. Men lost themselves in details, so that after the Thirty Years' War there again prevailed in schools and universities a miniature barbarism, which opposed every noble or comprehensive view of any subject. Assiduity in collecting materials was the only quality which, in those ages, obtained any renown. In addition to the huge collections of documents and historical monuments, in beautiful folio editions, two voluminous works on Universal History must be particularly mentioned—the huge Basle Lexicon, by Iselin, which contained notices of all persons and places, arranged in alphabetical order; and Ziegler's Theatre of the Age (*Schauplatz der Zeit*), in which all historical events were chronologically arranged.

The Spanish war of the succession shook Germany to its centre, thus bringing it into connection with England and France. An European war of so great extent accustomed the learned to take comprehensive views, so that the example of the celebrated historians and politicians, who arose in France and England, could not but have some influence in Germany. Men then began to lay

weight upon *pragmatic*—the causal connection of the events of the world. Schmauss, a clever politician, set the first example, teaching the Germans to unite their erudition and love of systematizing with independent and practical views. Gatterer[4] became in this sense the real reformer of the instruction upon history given in schools. Schroeck, too, the church historian, wrote a History of the World, upon neological views, which was very much read. The claims made by enlightenment becoming daily more pressing, did away with the ancient ignorance which had hitherto prevailed—with the old uncritical heaping up of materials. The men of greatest talent, however, confined themselves to more unpretending subjects, hoping by this means not to fall short of their aim. The works of Schlözer, Spittler, Justus Möser, &c., did not embrace the the whole subject of the history of the world.

Herder saw and acknowledged the difficulty of the problem. He was sensible that the old pragmatical method of treating history was far from being sufficient; that political history was generally far from being the whole of history, which should include the history of religion, of customs, of civilization. He did not, however, think himself capable of writing a work which would em-

[4] Johann Christoph Gatterer, born at Lichtenau, near Nürnberg, July 30th, 1727; died at Göttingen, April 5th, 1799: Attempt at an Universal History of the World till the Discovery of America; Manual of Genealogy and Heraldry; edited the Historical Journal.

brace all these objects. He merely contributed the first "Ideas" towards such a work.

Since his time the difficult task has been treated in many various ways, and often for very different purposes.

Remer[5] was the first who attempted to unite a detailed history of culture with that of politics; being, however, imperfectly master of his subject, he merely heaped up a mass of names. Of far more use were the works of Beck[6], who, in four ponderous volumes, arranged the history of the world (till the 15th century), simply according to dates and nations, subjoining to the small well-paragraphed text huge notes, containing, in as far as his immense assiduity had collected them, lists of all the works which contained anything relating to the details. Eichhorn, on the contrary, followed the example of the ancient classics and the English, in writing connectedly, and in looking more to a rich euphonious text, than to learned notes. His work, which was somewhat dry, proved that schoolmen, and, above all, theologians, were not destined by nature to be writers of the history of the world. For this purpose statesmen and philosophers are required—men whom we must acknowledge we do not yet possess.

[5] Johann August Remer, born at Braunschweig, 1736: Manual of Universal History; History of the Rise and Progress of Popery; translated Robertson's Charles V., and America.

[6] Christian Daniel Beck, born at Leipzig, Jan. 22nd, 1757; died at Stuttgart, Dec. 13th, 1832: Introduction to an Acquaintance with the History of the World; Sketch of Archæology; various translations; edited many of the classics.

Heeren[7] saw the proper limits within which it is allowable for the schoolman to be a historian. He contented himself with critical investigation into the arcana of history in his Ideas on the Politics, Trade, and Commerce of the principal Nations of Antiquity; and with giving clear surveys of their principal events, in his manuals of ancient and modern history, excluding, however, that of the middle ages. He leaves the deeper philosophy of history and greater elegance of style to others who are not professors, who are stamped by their fate and talent as real historians. This knowledge of the limits within which a schoolman can be a historian, has always appeared to me very estimable in Heeren.

Schlosser[9] evidently wished to transgress these limits when he conceived the gigantic project of uniting with the industry of Beck, the liberal views of the ancient and English historians, and of, at one and the same time, surpassing the critical acuteness of all former historians put together.

[8] Arnold Herman Ludwig Heeren, born at Arberger, near Bremen, Oct. 25th, 1760; alive at Göttingen: History of principal States of Antiquity; Manual of Ancient History; Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies; Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity.

[9] Friedrich Christoph Schlosser, born Nov. 17th, 1776; alive; professor of History, Heidelberg: History of the Iconoclastic Emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire; Short View of the History of the Eighteenth Century; Universal View of the History of the Ancient World and its Culture; Universal History (*Welt-geschichte*).

His great work on the History of the World, gives evidence of the rarest powers of mind, yet it is not on that account the less a monstrosity; for in it we have the philosophical history of the world, conjoined with the most minute and frivolous details of special history, and narratives with polemical investigations. Thus the work attempting to be too much at once, its own advantages oppose one another, and give to the whole an awkward appearance. Could he have divided himself, he would have made two or three scholars, each of whom would, in all probability, have been more distinguished than he was in whom they were all comprehended. His accurate critical powers, his strict and acute method of inquiring into historical truth, is certainly a blessing which continues to influence his disciples, and which cannot, therefore, be too highly valued; we cannot help, too, being filled with admiration, when we consider that he, though a schoolman, is the only German who has written a history of the French Revolution, which can in any way be compared with those written by French statesmen. Such an exception does not do away with the rule, it only does honour to him who forms it.

The Universal History of Johannes Müller would scarcely be worth mentioning, were it not that it has become celebrated in consequence of his great name. It consists of a series of would-be-clever tableaux, without any internal connection, or logical consistency of views.

Luden[1], who, with this history in his eye,

[1] Heinrich Luden, born April 10th, 1780; alive; professor

attempted to execute a more extended and connected picture of the History of the World, had some reason to be proud of his method of treating it. He possessed a peculiar talent for unfolding political intrigues, but he was exceedingly deficient in the comprehension of what we may call the romantic part of history, and of what is its real essence. He, too, values the cause at twice as much as the effect, and he takes an immoderate pleasure in exhausting himself with suppositions, even though they turn out to be unfounded. His style, too, has been spoiled by Johannes Müller, so that it has become affected, sentimental, and declamatory, even when engaged on the most matter-of-fact investigations.

I will not here allude to the multitudes of manuals of universal history written for the scholars at the universities and gymnasia, for if I did so, where could I end? I merely mention the Tables of Bredow[2], and the Historical Atlas of Kruse; works, the usefulness of which has been already proved.

Trials have been made even beyond the bounds of the school, to teach and render intelligible the

of History in Jena: Biographies of Grotius, Sir W. Temple, Thomasius, &c.; Views on the Rhenish League; Universal History of the Nations and States of Antiquity; Universal History of the Nations and States of the Middle Ages; History of the German People (unfinished).

[2] Gabriel Gottfried Bredow, born at Berlin, Dec. 14th, 1773; died at Breslau, Sept. 5th, 1814: Historical School Books; Remarkable Events of History; Manual of Ancient History, Geography, and Chronology.

principles of universal history. Becker's[3] History of the World for the Young, enjoyed immense fame and an extended circulation; indeed it was, along with Robinson Crusoe, Rochow's Children's Friend, and Gellert's Fables, looked upon as one of the most favourite school-books, though, to be sure, it contained a great quantity of improper twaddle. Bredow's Manual, calculated for townspeople and peasants, fancied its readers too narrow-minded and boorish, so that it met with but an indifferent reception, even from the people. If the tradesman or peasant take any interest in universal history, he will prefer hearing of great events, of church and state, of wars and heroes, to being told when glass was invented, when potatoes and tobacco were introduced, &c.

It is remarkable, that no universal history has yet been written in Protestant Germany, of decidedly liberal views. Enlightenment was diffused so quickly and generally, and, under the protection of Frederick the Great, so despotically, that it could never assume the characteristics of an opposition, but, on the contrary, rather fell into the errors of a dominant party. The reverse was the case in Catholic Germany: there the opposition was manifested in the writers of universal history, first in Westenrieder[4], then in Rottek.

[3] Friedrich Becker: History of the World, continued by Woltman and K. A. Menzel.

[4] Lorenz von Westenrieder, born at München, August, 1748; died, ibid., March 15th, 1829: Dramas—Marcus Aurelius, &c.

Westenrieder was the historian, as Salat was the philosopher, of enlightenment in Bavaria. He attempted to become popular, by an elegant pleasing style and by engravings, but the competition of the protestant scholars threw him somewhat into the shade.

Rottek[5] gained far more respect, by boldly entering the lists with his protestant competitors, seeing that he, at the very moment they began to become servile, became in his turn so much the more liberal. There always remained something in the catholic authors, even after they were enlightened, which was superciliously looked down upon by the Protestants, as awkwardness. An aristocracy of learning had already formed itself among the Protestants, which would not allow to the Catholics equal rights. The best way of putting these courtiers to the blush, was, by telling them that they, in proportion as the spirit of the age progressed, remained behind the liberal views of the once-despised Catholics. Filled with pride at the thought of the liberal views of their predecessors, the Humanists and Reformers, they imagined that they would be permitted to live for ever in comfortable quiet, upon the fruits which these had thus acquired. The Catholics had no such models, yet they dared to be liberal of their own ac-

Bavarian Historical Calendar; Contributions to the History of Germany; Sketch of the History of Germany; Sketch of Bavarian History; History of the Thirty Years' War.

[5] Karl von Rotteck, born at Freiburg, July 18th, 1775; alive; Hofrath in Baden: Universal History; History of Baden, till 1832; Universal World-History; American Sketches.

cord. Upon this foundation is Rottek's great renown founded. As a mere investigator he is far inferior to the stupendous erudition of Göttingen, Heidelberg and Berlin; as an historian, however, he has, in behalf of the people, excelled them all. His Universal History has been circulated in countless numbers. Why? Because he professes liberal views; because he does so more than any of the historians of the Protestants. The decision has been given, not by erudition, nor by the rules of taste, but by the spirit of the age. Many objections may, with justice, be made to Rottek's work, if examined by the principles of taste; it is, however, penetrated with a deep feeling of right, with a lively love of freedom, with a holy reverence for everything noble in man and his history. These, however, are the qualities which the people prefer in their historians. The learned quotations, which they do not understand, the euphuism (*Schönrednerei*) of Johannes Müller, whose hypocrisy and falsehood are at last discovered, no longer satisfy them.

I have already, when speaking of theology, noticed that remarkable interchange of poles, in consequence of which the Protestants have become servile and jesuitical, the Catholics liberal and reforming. This change is manifested also in history. Rottek, writing like a born Catholic, Friedrich Schlegel, like a born Protestant, have exchanged parts. The latter has, in his philosophico-historical works, condemned everything noble that has happened since the era of the middle ages; he has denominated the Reformation and

Revolution, works of Satan; he expects, by a direct interference of God, a restoration of the Romish-Papal universal monarchy, and of the alone-saving feudalism, with its concomitants, bondage, &c. These views are as unpopular as those of Rottek are popular. Even Görres, who was twice liberal, first during the time the French republic existed, before the rise of Napoleon, and again during the discontents which succeeded the overthrow of Napoleon,—even Görres, who wrote with flames rather than with ink, lost all his popularity in consequence of his zealous efforts in behalf of hierarchy and feudalism. Men did not then ask after the philosophical principles of a thing, but merely after its practical consequences; no fame, therefore, was so firmly based that it could not be shaken by the ostracism of public opinion. It was, it is true, a disadvantage to these ultramontanists, that they heaped all their praises upon the powerless old church. It would neither protect nor thank them. This could be done only by the state; we see, therefore, that their disciples and followers exchanged an ecclesiastical for a political jesuitism.

Those systems of universal history are still more unproductive, which, as integral parts of some philosophy, fashion history according to their pleasure, after the form of their system. All great nations and heroes, events and states of history, serve here merely to illustrate the sentences of some stupid professor. If a philosopher takes a pension from any one he meets, to prove from the events of the history of the world,

that the pope is truly the vicar of Christ; that the Holy Ghost speaks in all the decrees of the pope; that the institution of the orders of monks is a wholesome one; that the feudal aristocracy is of divine origin, &c.; we know well to what cause these declarations must be ascribed: we see immediately to whose advantage it tends; the affair, therefore, has a meaning, which, though insignificant, is yet of some practical importance. But when a professor of omniscience (*Allwissenheit*, knowledge of everything), whose little brains are bursting with arrogance, who, without aiming at any definite purpose in church or state, but, merely to satisfy his own vanity, impregnates the philosophy of the history of the world with his nonsense, in order to nurse it into a giant size; he does something of no practical use. I can here adduce this only as a kind of curiosity. Many such foolish systems have issued from the schools of Schelling and Hegel, in which the history of the world is welcomed in a truly cordial manner, as being quite fitted to illustrate the dogmas of the professors; for did it not fit, the fault would, of course, be laid upon it, and not upon the professors; and were one compelled to give way to the other, universal history would manifestly have to yield, and not the professor.

Wherever the doctrines of Hegel have taken up their abode, the heads of the students have been filled with this sort of nonsense. Metaphysical abstraction lies like a dark cloud of locusts upon historical and natural experience; it excludes all

sound cognition, and leaves nothing but chimerical notions.

This extreme has, as a matter of course, met its contrast—and met it in Berlin, under the very eyes of Hegel. The excellent Ritter[6] founded an entirely new and inductive method of treating universal history, by referring history to its scene of action, and connecting it by the closest ties with physical geography. Ecclesiastical and political history was now joined by that of customs and arts; by accounts of the general manners and habits of the people in all their moral and physical characteristics, in their destinies, monuments, and conditions, as connected with the peculiar nature of the countries. In this way the history of the world was intrusted by Ritter with a far nobler task than by Beck, Ritter being induced to undertake a far more extensive collection of information; but he was for this very reason less able to become master of the immense mass of materials; he could merely project a work, which many after him must continue, before it can acquire even a comparative completeness. His assiduity is worthy of the highest admiration. In his arrangement, however, we do not find a proper equipoise; for physical geography, political and mercantile statistics, the history of manners and political his-

[6] Carl Ritter, born at Quedlinburg, 1779; alive; professor in Berlin; founder of the science of geognosy, or the relation which geography bears to nature and the history of man: General Comparative Geography (unfinished), 7 vols.—vol. i. Africa, ii. N. and N.E. Asia, iii. S.E. of Upper Asia, iv. Hindostan, v. W. Asia, vi. and vii., unpublished.

tory, are not equally attended to. The work, as a whole, wants regularity; it is too much a mere assemblage of facts. Yet it must be acknowledged that it was almost impossible to produce anything more complete or more connected. There has not been nearly enough of preparatory labour.

The single colours must be prepared before the whole rainbow can come into existence. The history of religions, of arts, of sciences, of languages, the knowledge of the varieties of races, of physical and moral idiosyncrasies of nations, must be far more minutely examined into, before we can complete the political histories and geographies which have hitherto prevailed. Vater has written a comparative view of all languages; Wilhelm von Humboldt[7] and Klaproth[8] have been justly celebrated for their inquiries into the Northern and Tartar languages, to which so little attention had hitherto been paid.

It is remarkable that the history of manners has never yet been treated in a masterly way. There are single works, in which the religious customs,

[7] Wilhelm, Freiherr von Humboldt, born at Potsdam, January 21st, 1767; died at Berlin, 1836: translations of Agamemnon of Æschylus; On the Dualic Investigations respecting the Origin of the Inhabitants of Spain; Linguistical Inquiries.

[8] Heinrich Julius von Klaproth, born October 11th, 1783; died at Paris, 1830: Asia Polyglotta; Travels in Georgia and the Caucasus; Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of China; Antiquities of Hindostan and Bengal; works on the Chinese language; Critical Examination of the labours of Champollion on the Hieroglyphics.

relating to war, marriage, and burial, have been superficially described, and which are commonly illustrated by bad engravings; they are, however, mere stupid extracts from books of travels. There are an immense number of anthropologies, in which attempts are made to reduce to one system the various peculiarities and irregularities of the human character and body; they are, however, defective in historical completeness. We still want a profound history of manners, historical, and at the same time philosophical; such a work would be a worthy task for a great mind.

Let us now consider the single epochs of the history of the world.

Ancient Oriental history has for some time been a favourite subject with some of our higher literati. There have, indeed, ever since the Reformation, been great orientalists among the theologians, who have, from their acquaintance with the Bible, illustrated the languages and antiquities of the East; I may name Reiske[9], Michaelis, Eichhorn, Gesenius, &c. It was, however, necessary that poets should arise before the taste for the ancient East could be diffused beyond the bounds of theology. They first transferred their attention from the Jews to the Arabians, Turks, and Persians, and then to the Hindoos and Chinese.

[9] Johann Jacob Reiske, born at Zorbig in Saxony, December 25th, 1716; died at Leipzig, August 14th, 1774: Animadversiones in Græcos Auctores; edited various Greek authors; translated the Oratores Attici; translated several Arabian works—the Annales Moslemici of Abul-feda, &c.

Herder gave the first impulse to the poets. He, entering into the poetical spirit of Judaism, passed over to the poetry of Mahommedanism. This gave rise to the profound investigations into Mahommedan history.

Hartmann confined himself to poetry. We are indebted to him for the excellent translations of the Moallâkat, and of Medschnun and Leila. Joseph von Hammer [10], basing his inquiries upon poetry, opened up the rich mines (*Fundgruben*) of the East, translated the divine Schirin of the Persians, Hafiz, Baki, Montenabbi, the Rose and Nightingale of the Turks, &c.; he passed over, however, to history, and in his immortal work on the history of the Ottoman Empire he gave us our first just views of the Turkish kingdom at the very moment when it was hastening to its downfal. Habicht gave us the Thousand and One Nights in their pure form. Tholuk made us acquainted with the Mahommedan mysticism [1].

The spirit of inquiry progressing from this point opened up a new world in the east of Asia. Heeren's work, Ideas on the Trade and Commerce of the Old Oriental Nations, the History of

[10] Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstull, born at Grätz, in Steuermark (Styria), 1774; alive, in Wien: Fundgruben des Orients; History of Ottoman Poetry with specimens; History of the Mongols; History of the Arabian Kalifs; History of the Assassins; translated various Persian and Turkish works; History of the Ottoman Empire.

[1] In his first work, Sufism, or the Pantheistic Theosophy of the Persians, illustrated by the aid of Persic, Arabic, and Turkish manuscripts.

the Asiatic Myths, by Görres, and the System of Symbols (*Symbolik*) of Creuzer, endeavoured, (the first, more with reference to politics, the two last, more in a religious respect,) to free the primitive civilized world from the cloud of obscurity in which it had hitherto lain. It was very natural that particular attention should be paid to religion. The primitive states were priest-states, and their history is completely buried in myths. The philosophy of Schelling, which sanctified everything that had been, and showed it in a new light, (whilst in former times the old had been despised for the sake of the new,) and the system of Friedrich Schlegel, which taught that mankind had descended from perfection to corruption, gave an additional impulse to the study of primitive times. Many became enthusiastic in their study, and the poetry and wisdom which were found in the writings of the Hindoos nourished this zeal. The connection, which Görres was the first to discover, amid the mass of heathenism of the old world, and which was afterwards unfolded by Creuzer with the most unwearied assiduity, must of necessity surprise us. But the obscure and confused materials, which admitted of being treated in various ways, allowed too much room for speculations. Thence came it that learned speculation and the fanaticism of philosophical consistency soon took possession of this branch of study. The labours of Kanne[2], Rhode, Windischmann, and

[2] Johann Arnold Kanne, born at Detmold, May 1773; died December 17th, 1828: *Erste Urkunde der Geschichte der*

some others, bear witness to the great love and enthusiasm which is displayed for the subject, to an immense assiduity, and remarkable acuteness; in consequence, however, of their reciprocal contradictions they unfortunately prove nothing, but that either only one or that none is right, and that, whatever be the result, much valuable study is spent in producing empty theories. Notwithstanding this, however, all errors must be gone through, that men may make nearer approaches to truth. The primitive history of the human race ever remains an exceedingly important and interesting subject of inquiry, and the investigations of Germans on this question have surpassed those of all other nations. We have long expected a more comprehensive work from Schelling on this subject, but it has not yet made its appearance.

As to details: least was done for Persia. Kleuker[3] really did nothing but translate the Anquetil of Perron into German; Rhode broached mere historical theories on Bactria. Schmidt[4] and Plath[5]

Allgemeine Mythologie (On Primitive History of Universal Mythology); Lives and Actions of Remarkable Christians; New Account of the Mythology of the Greeks and Romans.

[3] Johann Friedrich Kleuker, born at Osterode: Extracts from the Writings of Antiquity; Brahminical System of Religion; Life and Wisdom of Zoroaster; translated the Zend-Avesta.

[4] J. J. Schmidt: Enquiries into the Department of the Old Religious, Political, and Literary History of the Culture of the People of Middle Asia, especially the Mongolians and Thibetians; Mongolese Grammar; Mongolese Dictionary.

[5] F. G. H. Plath: History of the Nations of Eastern Asia; History of the Tartars, vol. i.

have written two exceedingly instructive works on the history of the Mongolian nations and of China. We have, however, shown the greatest predilection for the East Indies. The two brothers (A. W. and F.), Schlegel, first introduced the study of Sanscrit into Germany, and to them are we indebted for the diffusion of a taste for the Hindoo philosophy and poetry. Next to them may be ranked Bopp [6], who was distinguished for his grammatical investigations, and editions of works; and Bohlen [7], for his historical researches. The Sacontala had formerly been translated by Georg Forster, and other works by others; most, however, in prose, and from the English; so that the love for the Hindoos is, to a certain extent, not a new thing, but merely an old affection revived.

Those who are attached to the wisdom and poetry of the ancient East have entered into a league with the Romanticists in opposition to the Classicists. There really exists in the hierarchy of the Hindoos, Egyptians, Magians, and Chinese, something which harmonizes with that of the romantic middle ages; the more onesidedly, there-

[6] Franz Bopp, born at Mainz, 1791; alive; professor of oriental literature in Berlin: Sanscrit Grammar; translations and editions of various Sanscrit works; Comparative Grammar of Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, and German; Extended Grammar of Sanscrit Language (*Ausführliche Lehrgebäude*).

[7] Peter von Bohlen, born at Wuppels in Oldenburg, March 13th, 1796; alive; professor of oriental languages in Königsberg: Hindostan with reference to Egypt; Genesis historically explained; editor of several Sanscrit works.

fore, classicism prevailed, the more natural was the mutual approximation made by the weaker parties,—orientalism and romanticism, for their mutual defence against the others. This contest produced many beneficial results. It freed the Classicists from their onesidedness and their prejudices.

Classic antiquity, Greece and Rome, have served, since the Reformation, as ideal pictures of civilization, and these countries were exalted in proportion as the old catholic middle ages were condemned. The first Humanists, as well as the Dutch after their glorious revolution, kept constantly before their eyes the life and spirit of the ancients, making, however, the language merely a means of arriving at the knowledge of the matter thereby expressed. Afterwards, however, such an universal want of spirit, and pedantry, took possession of the whole world (except Paris), that even the classic studies degenerated into mere controversies about trifles. Heyne[8], of Göttingen, was the first who sought in the husk—the language, for the kernel—the substance. Since his time, there has been a marked difference between the mere investigators of language and the investigators into the contents, though it must be confessed, that, in many cases, erudition was still

[8] Christian Gottlieb Heyne, born at Chemnitz, in Saxony, September 25th, 1729; died at Göttingen, July 14th, 1812: editions of Virgil, &c., &c.; Opuscula Academica. See Carlyle's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. or Foreign Review, vol. ii.

distinguished by an attention to both form and contents.

Friedrich August Wolf[9], a man who united in the highest degree a cultivated taste and mind, with more ponderous erudition, is the most distinguished linguist, translator, and literary historian. Buttmann[1] and Thiersch[2] were the most popular Greek grammarians, Bröder[3] and Grotefend[4] the most popular Latin grammarians; Schneider[5] and

[9] F. A. Wolf, born at Haynrode, near Nordhausen, February 15th, 1759; died at Marseilles, August 8th, 1824: Prolegomena to Homer; Lectures on Four First Books of Iliad; Lectures on the Scientific Knowledge of the Ancients; Literary Essays; edited Suetonius, &c.

[1] Philipp Karl Buttmann, born at Frankfort on the Main, December 7th, 1764; died at Berlin, June 21st, 1829: Greek Grammar; Miscell. Philol. Writings; On Mythology.

[2] Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch, born at Koichscherdunger Thuringia, June 17th, 1784; alive; professor of literature at München: Greek Grammar; Pindar (Greek and German); Epochs of the Plastic Art among the Greeks; On Classical Schools, with particular reference to those of Bavaria; Present State of Public Instruction in Western Germany, Holland, France, and Belgium.

[3] Christian Gottlob Bröder, born at Bischofswerda, 1744; died February 14th, 1819: Practical Latin Grammar (most used in Germany).

[4] G. Friedrich Grotefend, born July 9th, 1755: Latin Grammar; Inscriptions of Persepolis.

[5] Johann Gottlob Schneider, born at Cöln, 1750; died at Breslau, January 12th, 1822: Greek-German Lexicon; editions of Anacreon, Xenophon, Aristotle, &c.; History of Hungary; History of Bohemia, Austria, and Styria; Influence of Austria upon Germany and Europe; History of Mankind; Comparative Anatomy.

Passow[6] published the best Greek, Scheller[7] and Bauer[8] the best Latin lexicons.

An immense number of translations of the classics have been published. Wolf, seeking to unite taste and fidelity, translated but little. Others, following either the example of Wieland, paid more attention to taste, or that of Johann Heinrich Voss, to faithfulness. The free translations of Wieland will always be models, for they render easy what other translators rendered difficult; they make us, without pain or pedantry, acquainted with the spirit of antiquity, and they are free only in so far as ease of motion requires it, and this without injuring their fidelity. They are, on the contrary, truer to the spirit and substance of the classics, in consequence of sometimes giving up slavish literalness of form. Voss, on the contrary, has looked upon rhythmical fidelity, the sound of the syllables, as the first grammatical truth—the slavish imitation of every word, and even its position, as the second requisite of a masterly translation, while he has quite left out of view the third, the necessity for an easy natural

[6] Franz Ludwig Karl Friedrich Passow, born at Ludwigs-lust, Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, September 20th, 1786; died March 4th, 1833: On Greek Lexicography; Greek-German Dictionary; Principles of Grecian and Roman Literature, and History of Art; edited and translated Greek authors.

[7] Immanuel Johann Gerhard Scheller, born in Saxony, March 22nd, 1735; died July 5th, 1803: Latin-German and German-Latin Dictionary (new edition by Lünemann).

[8] M. K. L. Bauer, born at Leipzig, July 18th, 1730; died at Hirschberg, September 7th, 1799: German-Latin Dictionary.

style. This is the reason that his language is always hard, stiff, and pedantic, no matter whether he be translating a sublime or a frivolous, a solemn or a naïve piece of poetry; and he thus renders it impossible and intolerable to read those works which should be adorned with all the graces of composition. All other translators have imitated either Wieland or Voss. Among many distinguished ones I shall only mention the excellent translation of Herodotus by Lange[9], of Demosthenes by Jacobs[1], of Virgil by Neuffer[2], &c. Much noise was at one time made about Schleiermacher's Plato; but this translation is as defective as those of Voss: its language is cramp, affected, and devoid of all Platonic grace.

Much has been done for the individual branches of classical literary history by the editors of new editions, in periodicals and minor works. Wolf, Eschenburg[3], Friedrich Schlegel, and, most recently, the profoundly versed Bähr, have written general surveys.

Hermann has, next to Heyne, gained most dis-

[9] Adolf Gottlob Lange, born at Weissenberg, in Thuringia, April 22nd, 1778; died July 9th, 1831: translated also Lanzi on Sculpture among the Ancients.

[1] Friedrich Wilhelm Jacobs, born October 6th, 1764: translations; Greek Grammar; Tales—*Schüle für Frauen*, (School for Ladies,) &c.; Miscellaneous Writings; Allwin and Theodore.

[2] C. L. Neuffer, born at Stuttgart, January 20th, 1769: *Taschenbuch für Frauenzimmern*; translated Æneid.

[3] Johann Joachin Eschenburg, born at Hamburg, December 1st, 1743; died at Brunswick, February 29th, 1820: translated Shakspere; Sketch of a Theory of the Literature of the Belles Lettres.

tinction by his investigations into mythology. Most attention, however, was attracted by the contest between two parties, viz., between the orientalists, headed by Creuzer[4], and the classicists, by Voss. As both lived in Heidelberg the hatred soon became personal. Voss, professing to know nothing of the ancient East, called its noblest monuments spurious and modern inventions of the priests, and when orientalism began to gain ground, arrived at such a pitch of frenzy, that he publicly accused Creuzer of wishing to re-introduce the bacchanalia and orgies, the change of the sexes, and all the horrors of heathenism and Bonzism, of the worship of Baal and Moloch. The strangeness of this learned folly induced me, about ten years ago (1823), to publish the little work called *Voss und die Symbolik.*

German assiduity and attention have done so much in promoting the real history of antiquity that we have quite surpassed the English and French in profoundness. Heeren, Schlosser, Bredow, have published general surveys of ancient history, Mannert[5] and Uckert, of ancient geography. Grecian history was best treated by

[4] Georg Friedrich Creuzer, born at Marburg, March 10th, 1771; alive; professor in Heidelberg: Symbolik and Mythology of Ancient Nations, especially the Greeks; Works on Mythology and Antique Art.

[5] Konrad Mannert, born at Altdorf, in Bavaria, April 17th, 1756; died at München, September 25th, 1834: History of the Vandals; History of Bavaria; Ancient Geography of Greece and Rome; History of Immediate Successors of Alexander.

Ottfried Müller[6] and Zinkeisen[7], the Athenian by Boeckh[8] and Jacobs, the Spartan by Manso[9], the Macedonian by Flathe[1]. Histories of Rome were written by Neibuhr[2], Wachsmuth[3], and Eisendecher[4], the last of whom has, in a very interesting work, proved the similarity between the ancient plebeian-emancipation, in the Roman republic, and the emancipation of our own times.

As many works have been written on the art, the manners and customs of the ancients, the

[6] Carl Ottfried Müller, born at Brieg, in Silesia, 1797; alive; professor at Göttingen: Dwellings of the Greeks; The Dorinas (English, by Tufnel and Lewis); Etruscans; History of Grecian Tribes and Cities.

[7] J. W. Zinkeisen; alive: History of Greece (unfinished), vol. i.

[8] August Boeckh, born at Carlsruhe, November 24th, 1784; alive; professor in Berlin: Public Economy of the Athenians (English); Philolaus's Life of Pythagoras; Platonica; Corpus Inscriptionum Grecarum.

[9] Johann Caspar Friede Manso, born at Blazunzell, in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, May 20th, 1759; died at Breslau, June 9th, 1826: Attempt to Explain the Constitution of Sparta; Life of Constantine the Great; poems; History of Prussia since the Peace of Hubertsburg; History of the Reign of the East Goths in Italy.

[1] Ludwig Flathe: History of Macedonia and of the Empire governed by the Macedonian Kings; History of the Forerunners of the Reformation.

[2] Barthold Georg Niebuhr, born at Meldorf, in Holstein, 1777; died at Bonn, January 2nd, 1836: Roman History (English by Hare and Thirlwall); Miscellaneous History and Philosophical Writings; edited the Scriptores Historiæ Byzantinæ.

[3] Wilhelm Wachsmuth: Antiquities of Greece (Oxford, 1836); History of the Republican Institutions of Modern Times; History of European Customs.

[4] Eisendecher: Rise, Progress, and Formation of the Civil Law of Rome.

great Winkelmann is here pre-eminently distinguished. I shall return to him when I come to speak of the influence which the ancient taste has had upon art and poetry. With him may be ranked Lessing, Fernow, and Schorn, in the department of art. Nitsch and others had already, in their Manuals, given us some account of the manners and customs of the ancients, but Wieland and Jacobs were the first who, by their representations and delineations, gave us a faithful picture of ancient life. Böttiger[5], of Dresden, made such minute inquiry into the art and domestic habits of the ancients, that he excelled all others in circumstantial detail. It is unjust to reproach him so much as has been done with his bombastic style, and that comical enthusiasm with which he thrusts forward his antique hobbies. This language does not injure his merit as a scholar, and is merely a naïve symptom of honest zeal.

The Byzantine history was long somewhat neglected. The path for further inquiry has, however, been at last opened even here by a noble edition of the Byzantine historians, by the critical writings of Fallmerayer[6] (on the Morea and Trebizond), and of Zinkeisen.

[5] Carl August Böttiger, born at Reichenbach, in Saxony, June 8th, 1760; died at Dresden, November 17th, 1835: Archæological Treatises on Ancient Art; Ideas on the Mythology of Art; Amalthea, or the Mythology of Art.—See For. Quart. Rev. vol. xvi. p. 464-7.

[6] J. P. Fallmerayer; alive: History of the Peninsula of the Morea during the Middle Ages.

The history of the middle ages was subjected to a peculiar method of treatment by Rühs[7], a man of completely rationalistic mind. Leo[8] has published a manual of a similar nature, which, however, is much enriched by the study of originals, a department now so much attended to. An extensive work, profound, and one in every respect excellent, has been written by Wilken[9] on the Crusades. Hüllmann[1] has published several valuable works on the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of the middle ages. I have already spoken of church history. Savigny's[2] History of the Roman

[7] Friedrich Rühs; alive: History of Icelandic Poetry; Finnland and its Inhabitants; Attempt at a History of the Religion, Institutions, and Culture of Scandinavia; Manual of the History of the Middle Ages.

[8] Heinrich Leo, born at Rudelstadt, March 19th, 1799; alive: professor of history in Halle: Lectures on the History of the Jews; On the Lombard Cities; Manual of the History of the Middle Ages; History of the Italian States; Twelve Books of Netherlandish History; Compendium of Universal History.

[9] Friedrich Wilken, born at Ratzeburg, May 23rd, 1777; professor in Berlin: History of the Crusades, extracted from Eastern and Western Sources; works on the Persian language, and History of the East; History of the Berlin Library.

[1] Karl Dietrich Hüllmann, born at Erdeborn, in Mannsfeld, September 10th, 1765: Corporate Institutions of the Middle Ages; Constitution of Rome; History of the Mongols till 1206; History of Denmark; History of Religion of Lamas; On the Delphic Oracle; On the Constitution of the Jews.

[2] Friedrich Carl von Savigny, born at Frankfort on the Maine, 1779; alive; professor of law in Berlin: History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages; Vocation of our Age to Jurisprudence (English by Hayward); Law of Possession.

Law during the Middle Ages, and many other works which relate to particular nations or branches of literature, ought still to be mentioned.

The work of Heeren upon modern times is a useful compendium, distinguished above all others for its clearness and precision. Eichhorn is more minute, and more at home, in the history of the states and nations out of Europe. Schlosser's History of the Eighteenth Century contains the best account of the French Revolution that has been written by a German. The works of Raumer [3], Carl Adolph Menzel [4], Hormayr [5], and Münch [6], are of very various value; all, however, have a certain political tinge. The first would fain show people that he could stand upon the culminating point of the age, were it not that he thinks it more advisable to remain at a lower

[3] Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer, born at Worlitz, in Dessau, May 14th, 1781; alive; professor of state sciences in Berlin: Lectures on Universal History; History of the Hohenstaufen; England in 1835 (English by Mrs. Austin and others); Contributions to Modern History, from the British Museum; History of Europe since the End of the Fifteenth Century.

[4] Carl Adolph Menzel, born at Grünburg, in Silesia, 1784; alive; professor in Breslau: History of Silesia; History of the Germans; Modern History of the Germans, from the Reformation till the Dissolution of the Empire.

[5] Joseph Freiherr von Hormayr zu Hortenberg, born at Innspruch, January 20th, 1781; alive; Bavarian minister at Hanover; History of the Tyrol; History of Modern Times, from the Death of Frederick the Great till the Second Peace of Paris; History and Memorials of Wien, &c. &c.

[6] Ernst Münch; alive; professor at Freiburg: Biographica; Historical Studies; Recollections; Sketches of Life and Studies.

point. The second, standing under the thunders of absolutism, preaches paternal sermons to the liberals. The third, despite of all his powers of intellect, behaves at times as if nature had meant him merely for a court-gilder; while the fourth, looking only to political, has been compelled to turn his back upon historical truth.

Raumer is deservedly celebrated for his investigations into the history of the middle ages and of modern times. I am, therefore, far from blaming him for having in style and reasoning endeavoured to imitate the unprejudiced views held by the French and English *doctrinaires*, and the elegance of a philosophical and fashionable policy. On the contrary, I have always been desirous that our historians, who have hitherto been far too much chained to the writing-desks in their libraries, would take more interest in the politics of the day, and would, in the passions and interests of the present, study those of the past. The *doctrinaires*, however, have the peculiarity of being always compelled to think as servants of the state, and to modify their philosophical system of politics, their views on things in general, according to every change of wind.

Among the historians who are in situations of this kind, Ranke[7] has best understood how, by an objective method, and by using as little reasoning

[7] Ranke: Princes and People of Europe during the 16th and 17th Centuries: the Roman Popes—their temporal and spiritual power; Servian Revolution; Contributions from the Archives of the British Museum.

as possible, to avoid in his histories, which are commonly those of foreign countries, views of this kind; Leo has not understood this matter so well, and as he, notwithstanding his cold artificial style, has much real enthusiasm, and cannot withhold a profound view, a definite judgment, therefore he has, after he had at the university thrown off the mask of republicanism, taken refuge in a romantic system of doctrine.

It would be doing injustice to Herr von Hormayr to reproach him with his use of chivalrous legends and monuments of every sort, as we must suppose that he, in remembrance of the hour of need, has always defended the German cause against the French; and though he has here and there demanded too much servility from the muse of history, yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that his excellent investigations into special-history, which have been published in his Vaterländisch Taschenbuch, are a rich mine of noble and independent ideas and memorials derived from the times of ancient German freedom. His style is not the best, for he sometimes attempts to imitate the bombast of Johannes Müller.

Modern history has been reviewed in the annuals, first by Posselt[8], then by Buchholz[9], and Ven-

[8] Ernst Ludwig Posselt, born at Durlach, in Baden, in 1763; died at Heidelberg, June 11th, 1804: Taschenbuch (Pocket-book) of Modern History; History of the Germans; History of Charles XII; History of Gustavus III.

[9] Paul Friedrich Buchholz, born Feb. 5th, 1768; alive: History of Europe after the Peace of Wien; Life of Napoleon; Historical Annual, 1814—1830.

turini[1], and of late also by myself. In doing so, I, of course, merely attempted to give the first survey, one which might serve as a clue to future historians; for a classic history cannot be written until events have reached a crisis, until facts and their causes, the characters, &c., which are connected with them, are no longer mysterious, but are, by memoirs and the opening of archives, laid open to the public eye.

Let us now take a view of modern nations whose histories we have written. It is a matter of course that the works manufactured for Cabinet Cyclopedias (*Conversations-Bibliotheken*), cannot be here alluded to. I can only mention real investigations.

The best works on Spain are, that of Schmidt[2] (Arragon), Aschbach[3] (the Visigoths), Lembke[4] (Spain in general), Schepeler[5] (the war of liberty carried on against Napoleon; a war in which the author took part in the service of Spain).

[1] K. G. H. Venturini: History of Primitive Christianity; Church of the 19th Century; Russia and Germany; Wars of Freedom; History of Spain.

[2] E. A. Schmidt, born, 1746; died, 1809: History of Arragon during the Middle Ages; History of France; Sketch of a History of the Middle Ages.

[3] Joseph Aschbach, born April 29th, 1801, at Hochst, near Frankfort on the Maine, where he now lives: History of Spain and Portugal; Life of Emp. Sigismund; History of the Heruli and Gepidæ.

[4] F. W. Lembke; alive: History of Spain (in Heeren and Uckert's History of European States.)

[5] K. P. von Schepeler: History of the Spanish Monarchy, from 1810 to 1822; contributions to the History of Spain.

We have few works on France, as the French have saved us the trouble of writing on this subject. Heinrich's history is of no importance. On the contrary, the investigations which Raumer and Ranke have made in the French and Italian archives on the ancient history of France, as well as the excellent history of the Provençal troubadours, by Diez[6], are of much value. Depping[7], a German, domiciled in Paris, has written a very interesting account of his residence in that city. Carové, and before him Jochmann, has written many works on the state of the church in France. A work on the State of France (*Französische Zustände*) has lately been written by the talented Heine, a work which is not merely a satirical party squib, but also of much historical interest.

Neither has Italy been forced to wait for a German historian. In church history alone have we written more scientifically, more profoundly than, and in a different style from, the Italians. We have, however, allowed the Italians to take care of their own political history. Lebret's history of Venice was a valuable attempt; it was, however, far excelled by that of Darŭ. Leo is the first who has undertaken to write a detailed history of Italy. Türk's researches into the history of the Longobards, are

[6] F. Diez: Poetry of the Troubadours; Lives and Works of the Troubadours.

[7] Georg Bernhard Depping, born in Westphalia, in 1784; alive in Paris: Recollections of the Life of a German in Paris; Les Soirées d'Hiver; Geography of Switzerland; many Histories and Travels; Commerce of Europe and the Levant.

very valuable. The best work yet written on the literary history of Italy is by Bouterweck. Italian art exercised but little influence upon modern times, till the time of Winkelmann. In like manner, Fernow, Goethe, Kephalides[8], Frederike Brun[9], Rehfuss, Rumohr, Hirt, Bunsen[1], &c., have, as of lovers art, and enthusiastic travellers, done much service to the cause. A book called 'Rome in 1833,' which was lately published anonymously, is very excellent[2].

England has possessed greater historians than any other European nation. We have merely imitated them. Archenholz[3] gained no little renown by being the first to make us acquainted with the state of England. We possess no classic work[4] on England, except the picture of the manners of the aristocracy, in the Letters of a De-

[8] August Wilhelm Kephalides, born in Silesia, in 1789; died, March 10th, 1820: Travels in Italy and Sicily.

[9] Frederike Sophie Christiane Brun, born June 3rd, 1765: poems; Letters on Italy, 1808–10.

[1] Christian Carl Bunsen, born at Korbach, Aug. 25th, 1791; alive; Prussian minister at Rome (connected with the disputes respecting the archbishop of Cöln): Description of Rome; De Jure Atheniensium Hereditario.

[2] The work is by Zinkeisen, who has since published, 'Paris in 1836.'

[3] Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, born at Danzig, Sept. 17th, 1745; died at Holstein, Feb. 28th, 1812: Annals of British History, from 1788 to 1808; History of the Seven Years' War; England and Italy; Gustavus Vasa.

[4] Since this was written, there have appeared the two first volumes of a History of England, by J. M. Lappenberg, which is generally said to be the best yet written.

ceased, by Prince Pückler Muskau. We have confined ourselves chiefly to translating every work of value published in England.

We possess able works on Scandinavia, by Schlözer[6] and Rühs, and what these men have omitted in regard to the history of the legends and civilization of the north, has been richly supplied by the brothers Grimm, Mone, Gräter, &c.

On Poland, we have an extensive work by Lengnich, another by Jeckel[7], and a liberal history, by Hammerdörfer[8]; there are, besides, many pamphlets on public affairs, some in the Saxon and some in the Prussian interest. More recently, the descriptions of the reign of Constantine, by Harro Harring[9], and the huge History of the Revolution, by Spazier[1], the materials for which

[5] Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, born at Muskau in Lusatia; married, in 1817, a daughter of Hardenberg; created a prince in 1822; alive: Briefe eines Verstorbenen; Tutti Frutti; Semilasso's Vorletzten Weltgang; Jugend-Wanderungen; on Landscape Gardening.

[6] August Ludwig von Schlözer, born at Jagdstadt, July 5th, 1737; died Sept. 9th, 1809: General History of the Nations of the North; History of the World; Political Indicator.

[7] Franz Jeckel: History of Poland till 1791.

[8] Karl Hammerdörfer, born at Leipzig, in 1758; died at Jena, April 17th, 1794: History of Poland till 1791; Life of Frederick the Great; History of Luther; Universal History; novels—Love, &c.

[9] Harro Harring, born at Ebenshof, in Denmark, 1799; alive in Britain, in exile: History of Poland under Constantine; Travels in Denmark and Germany; novels—The Poacher's Flight, &c. &c.

[1] K. O. Spazier: History of the Rebellion in Poland in 1830–1.

were contributed by fugitive Polish statesmen and generals, are the most celebrated. We do not yet possess a complete and critical history of Poland; and, strange to say, no one has yet been at the trouble of translating the better Polish historians.

The learned have taken more interest in Russia, because many Germans have settled in that country. The old histories of Russia were collected and examined, for the first time, in Müller's Russian Library and Schlözer's Russian Annals. Bacmeister[2], Ewers, Bellermann, and Storch, are deservedly celebrated for their researches into the history of Russia. There are also many tourists who, in describing the geography, have given us much valuable information respecting the people and history of Russia: of these I shall afterwards speak.

The history of Hungary has been treated of at great length by some Germans: first, by Fessler[3]; next, Engel; lastly, and more profoundly, by Graf Mailath[4]; who, though an Hungarian, wrote in German, and who, therefore, belongs to our literature, to which he is an orna-

[2] Hartwig Ludwig Bacmeister, born near Ratzeburg, March 15th, 1730; died June 13th, 1806: Topographical Account of Russia; Lexicon of Russian Histories; Life of Peter the Great.

[3] Ignatius Aurelius Fessler, born at Zundorf, in Hungary, in 1756: History of Hungary; historical novels—Marcus Aurelius, &c.; tragedies—Sydney, Aristides and Themistocles, Abelard and Eloise, &c.

[4] Johann Graf Mailath, born at Pesth, Oct. 5th, 1786; alive;

ment. Graf Mailath is one of the few historians who are not ashamed to do justice, even to the beautiful and characteristical legends of the people. We have works on Transylvania (*Siebenbürgen*), by Schlözer, Eder, Gebhardi, Haner, Lebrecht; on Servia, by Rancke and von Pirch[5].

I have already, in the second edition of my History of the Germans, given a list, which, though very extensive, is still far from complete, of those German historians who have written histories of Germany; I therefore will not repeat it here. I hope, however, that I may be allowed to say a few additional words on the merits of those, who are pre-eminently distinguished; a little more than I could do in that work, in which literary history was merely a secondary affair.

As our scholars have got the name of having a peculiar love for the history of foreign nations, our modest patriotism may be satisfied with knowing that they have not altogether neglected investigating German history.

When we consider how often the history of Germany has been written by men of moderate talents, and how often our greatest scholars and most acute historical critics have preferred busying themselves with ancient Greece or Rome, with the distant Indies or China, with England or with Italy, and have, in so doing, looked down

History of the Magyars (Hungarians); Poems, Tales, and Legends of the Magyars; History of Austria.

[5] O. Pirch: Travels in Servia in 1829.

with a sort of contempt upon the history of their fatherland, we must lament the misdirection of a nationality which can lead to such self-neglect.

This may, perhaps, be ascribed to the circumstance of our own history being still so strange and obscure, so extensive and unmanageable. Yet the polyarchy, the provincial spirit, the *Krähwinkelei*, which exists not merely in petty villages, but also, and κατ' ἐξοχήν, in courts and universities; in a word, the dismemberment of the German nation, the extensive and enduring process of corruption which destroyed the beautiful corse of our empire, have all united in turning our affections, as well as our eyes, from the great whole to the minute particulars, thus rendering the German a "man of detail." How can a citizen of an imperial town, a petty court-councillor of Wied-Runkel[7], of Reuss-Greitz-Schleitz[8], or a professor of Duisburg, be able, like Hume or Thiers, to write a history of his great nation? He had no idea of a great nation; he knew nothing but his own town or his master. The idea of a difference of the German tribes never occurred to him; for members of the same tribe, Strasburghers and Wurtembergers, he of Anhalt, and he of Vogtland, &c., were total strangers to each other. No scholar had any opportunity

[7] Wied-Runkel, a mediatized principality on the Rhine, now subject to Prussia.

[8] Reuss-Greitz-Schleitz, in the Voigtland, between Saxony and Bavaria, two of the smallest principalities in Germany.

of judging on the fate of the common fatherland as a whole, far less of influencing it; and the statesmen either did not write, or, if they did, it was merely for prejudiced purposes, and as men animated with a provincial spirit, in opposition to the general interests of Germany, like Frederick the Great. Bünau[9] wrote a general history of the Germans; being, however, a polyhistor, he is very clumsy in his style. Pütter[1] and Häberlin[2] looked merely to the state and the constitution of the empire; their works, therefore, are merely manuals: the Catholic Schmidt[3] was the first who wrote a history of the Germans in a popular and elegant style, but his work wants depth and critical acumen. All the other works on this subject were mere special-histories, and the good which they contained was rendered unpalatable to those who were bent upon acquiring knowledge, by the rubbish with which it was connected; by

[9] Heinrich Graf von Bünau, born at Weissenfels, in Saxony, June 2nd, 1697; died April 7th, 1762: History of the German Emperors and Empire; History of the Wars between the French, English, and Germans.

[1] Johann Stephen Pütter, born at Iserlohn, in Westphalia; died at Göttingen, Aug. 12th, 1807: History of the Rise and Progress of the Constitution of the German Empire; Works on Jurisprudence.

[2] Carl Freidrich Häberlin, born at Helmstadt, Braunschweig, August 5th, 1756; died Aug. 16th, 1808: Manual of German Public Law; German Archives; Universal History; History of the German Empire.

[3] Michael Ignaz Schmidt, born at Arnstein, in Würzburg, 1736; died at Wien, Nov. 1st, 1794: History of the Germans, 22 vols., unfinished. It has been continued by Milbeller, and also by Dresch.

the would-be importance which preferred the pettiest member of the empire to the great whole; by the uncritical commingling of those interests which were really of general importance, with those which were merely local, or totally insignificant memorials; and by a heavy, obscure, and ignoble style, which showed but too plainly that these authors were not inspired by a spirit-stirring object.

Hireling authors, wishing to stifle the voice of conscience, which now began to whisper among the people, exalted, with a full consciousness of its worthlessness, to the rank of a law, that method of procedure which had been followed in a spirit of ignorance and *näiveté* by the old writers of the history of particular provinces, men who had promoted that spirit of separation which unfortunately became, as it were, a second nature to the Germans. Johannes Müller, Zschokke, and many others, pronounced the people of every petty province, a nation, which had existed, and would exist for ever; though history plainly proved to us that these new-baked provincial aboriginal nations, were never anything else than component parts of the great German nation.

It was necessary that Napoleon should arise and give us a sound shaking before we could arrive at a thorough acquaintance with ourselves. Neither honour nor love could unite us; this could be done only by disgrace and hatred. Great actions had been performed; and literature did not wish to be inferior to life.

As new spirit has, since that time, been breathed

into the study of German history. Attempts have been made to treat it as a whole, to view it as one general German history, and even the special-histories have been rendered subordinate to this higher object. The popular history of the Germans by Kohlrausch[4], which, written in accordance with the spirit of the age, and compressed into a small bulk, was a favourite school-book, and passed through many editions, appeared soon after the war of 1813—1815. Its glowing patriotism supplied its deficiencies in profoundness and critical acumen. The History of the Germans, by Carl Adolph Menzel was also animated with a like patriotic spirit; but the work was not learned enough for its length, and too long to be popular. The work of Freiherr von Gagern[5] aimed merely at representing the primitive times of Teutonic freedom and heroic greatness, as did the older yet beautiful work of Maskow[6]. Next followed Luden's History, in an endless series of volumes. The author dwells far too long on primitive times; if, therefore, he wishes ever to finish, he must compress the account of the modern times, the history of which is of most importance. Several hundred

[4] Friedrich Kohlrausch: German History for Schools; History of the Bible.

[5] Hans Christoph Ernest Freiherr von Gagern, born near Worms, 1766; alive in Heidleberg, near Frankfort: The National History of the Germans; My Share in Politics.

[6] Johann Jacob Maskow, born at Danzig, Nov. 26th, 1689; died at Leipzig, 1761: Sketch of a Complete History of the German Empire; History of the Germans (unfinished); Principia Juris Publici.

pages on Ariovistus, Arminius; prolix disquisitions on the family feuds during the reign of Otto I.; are not calculated to interest the public. Pfister's[7] History is in some parts complete and acute, in others not so; on the whole, he appears to me far from being sufficiently just and frank, when speaking of the many intrigues which have occurred in German politics. Peter von Kobbe has written a useful manual of German history, to the dry bones of which, however, he has imparted but little flesh. The popular History of the Germans, by Joseph Heinrich Wolf, published in München, would scarcely deserve notice, were it not that, in consequence of its immorality, it must be looked upon as a sign of the times. The unworthy author smuggles into a history of the noble German people, intended for the young, vulgar obscenities, and seductive descriptions of immorality.

I cannot conceal the fact, that none of these labours satisfied me, that I felt the necessity for a work in which the history, not merely of politics, but also of culture; of mind, not merely of deeds; not merely the principal characteristics of general-history, but also the delicate and characteristic shades of special-history; not merely historical truth, but also patriotic enthusiasm; and in patriotism, not merely an enthusiastic praise

[7] Johann von Christian Pfister, born at Pleidelsheim, in Wurtemberg March, 21st, 1772; died October 1st, 1835: History of Schwabia; History of the Constitution of Wurtemburg; History of Germany (in History of European States).

of German virtues, but also an upright acknowledgment and severe reprehension of German faults; should all be contained. It was with these views that I composed my History of the Germans, a work which is very intimately connected with this book. In this work I am merely recapitulating at greater length, the literary portion of what I then treated as a whole. Our literature has its root in our history. The one cannot be mastered without a profound acquaintance with the other.

The works which treat of separate portions of that great whole which is commonly called German history, are immensely numerous, a state of things which is produced by our internal divisions; and among these works we find very excellent ones, for the love for the single and the little has always been greater than that for the whole and the great.

The brothers Jacob[8] and Wilhelm[9] Grimm are our most distinguished investigators into German language and antiquities: Jacob, however, is the more celebrated. His Grammar, which points out, in an historical manner, the development of

[8] Jacob Ludwig Grimm, born at Hanau, Jan. 4th, 1785; alive; professor and librarian in Göttingen; German Grammar; German Mythology; Antiquities of German Law.

[9] Wilhelm Carl Grimm, born at Hanau, Feb. 24th, 1786; alive; sub-librarian in Göttingen: German Chivalrous Legends; Ueber Deutsche Runen. The brothers jointly, Kinder-und-Haus-mährchen; Deutsche Sagen; Alt Deutsche Walder.

the German language, is a classical work, and one such as no other nation possesses. His antiquities of the law, his inquiries into, and refacciamenti of the old popular legends; his editions of ancient poems, &c., are among the best elucidations of German antiquity.

The capricious manner in which laws had hitherto been prescribed to the language was done away with by Grimm's systematic method of procedure. Though it cannot be denied that both Adelung and Campe[1] deserve much praise for the manner in which they treated our language, yet they, in so far as they forgot the historical principle, prepared the way for all the follies of the *purists*, who attempted to introduce at one time one, at another, another orthography and orthöepy. Jahn[2], the *Turner*, who, in his German Nationality (*Deutsches Volksthum*), commands us to be and to speak German, formed an intermediate step between these usurping and tyrannical purists and the historical principle of Grimm.

The return to the study of the monuments of the language of the middle ages, was the first circumstance which led us to a profound study of our anti-

[1] Johann Christoph Campe, born Aug. 8th, 1732, at Spontekow, in Pomerania; died at Dresden, Sept. 10th, 1806: Grammatical and Critical Dictionary of the German Language; Mithridates.

[2] Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, born 1778; alive: Runenblätter; Deutsch Turnkunst.

quities. Even before the time of Grimm, Gräter[3], by pursuing the study of the old northern literature, acquired, as a forerunner, a merit which we must not attempt to lessen, though it must be confessed that he is often deficient in taste. The deepest sympathy for the middle ages, combined with the most refined and classical taste in his method of treating it, was shown by Görres. His fiery spirit, connected as it was, by his early residence in Heidelberg, in a double manner, partly with Creuzer, partly with the romantic poets, had an influence upon both. Mone[4], the pupil of Creuzer, added to his master's System of Symbols, in which the ancient Oriental, Greek, and Roman mythology is explained, a history of the Norse and German heathenism, which, though written with great erudition, and all the advantages of enthusiasm, contains some of the faults of the latter. The poets Arnim and Brentano collected in the Boy's Wonder-horn (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*), a valuable collection of old popular ballads. Büsching[5] and

[3] Friedrich David Gräter, born April 22nd, 1768; died at Ulm, August 2nd, 1830: Works on the Mythology of the Nations of the North; Fabulous Period of Northern History; History of Northern Antiquities; Norse Poets.

[4] Friedrich Ludwig Mone; alive: Survey of the Dutch Popular Poetry of Past Ages; History of Heathenism in the North of Europe.

[5] J. G. Büsching, born September 19th, 1783; died at Breslau, May 4th, 1829: Popular Tales (*Volksmährchen*); Liebe, Lust, und Leben des deutsches subzehnten Jahrhunderts; Ritter-zeit und Ritter-wesen (Chivalry and

von der Hagen collected and edited with the utmost assiduity, Lachmann sifted with the greatest accuracy, while Hoffmann von Fallersleben and others, distinguished themselves in various ways, revivifying the olden German literature, by publishing editions of, and commentaries upon, the chief works.

The historians were not long in following this example of the poets. They began to publish the chronicles and important documents which were yet unprinted. It is true that the rich citizens, the universities, some royal historiographers, and the Benedictines, had, during the years immediately succeeding the invention of printing, published large folio editions. A multitude of *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, collections of legends, documents, and laws, were brought to light. Yet the modern *Scriptores* of our industrious Pertz, the *Monumenta Boica*, the editions of several very interesting chronicles of Switzerland, Pomerania, Silesia, &c., printed for the first time, and the numerous collections of documents of Hormayr, Freyberg[6], &c., prove that many were then left unpublished.

the Age of Chivalry); German Art, Life, and Science in the Middle Ages. With von der Hagen, Book of Love; Tales of the Middle Ages.

[6] Max. P. Freiherr von Freyberg, born January 3rd, 1789; alive in Bavaria, where he is treasurer, state-councillor, and keeper of the archives: Collection of Historical Documents; Collection of the Antiquities of German Law; History of the Bavarian States' Acts; History of Bavarian Legislature;

Eichhorn[7] is the most celebrated of all the recent inquirers into the history of the German empire and law (*Deutsche Staats-und Rechtsgeschichte*). Philipps[8] and Zöpfl have lately endeavoured to rectify and complete his labours. Hüllmann has written some excellent works on some single parts of departments relating to the constitution of church and state. The celebrated work of Savigny, on the Roman Law in the Middle Ages, is as much a part of political as of juridical history.

Many works, especially since the Reformation, have been written on the Teutoni, for at that time the deep degradation of Germany produced a patriotic reaction in literature, as was the case at a later period under Napoleon; at that time, however, the Germania of Tacitus formed the nucleus of this literature, while in the latter period this was done by the *Niebelungen*. At that time men still wished to be classical, and even Klopstock himself could not separate German patriot-

On the Old German Public Procedures; novels — The Stauffer of Ehrenfels; Lion Knights; Picturesque Tour in Italy.

[7] Friedrich Carl Eichhorn, born at Jena, November 20th, 1781; alive in Würtemberg, after Louis resigned his chair in Göttingen: History of the German States and Law; General History; History of Literature; History of the Culture and Literature of Modern Europe.

[8] G. Philipps: Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Law; Principles of Private Law; General History with Reference to Religion, Law, and Constitution.

ism from ancient classicism. Cluwer[9] was the first, who, as a polyhistor, treated in a profound manner the ancient period of Teutonic history. Maskow represented, with more historical spirit, the deeds of our ancestors till the time when the Franks established a separate and independent kingdom. Justus Möser delineated with the greatest accuracy and the warmest patriotism, in his History of Osnabrück, the ancient freedom of the Saxon people. There are so many works on the ancient periods of German history, that I cannot here give any account of them; I shall only mention the following, which are those of the latest date:—Barth[1] (Primitive History of Germany) on the primitive relations which existed between the Germans and Romans in Upper Italy and Pannonia, the Boii, the Senones, &c., a part of German history which had hitherto been very much neglected; Manso on the East-Goths; Aschbach on the Visigoths; Türk on the Longobards; Gaupp[2], on the Thuringians; Mannert, on the Franks.

[9] Philipp Cluwer, born at Danzig, 1580; died 1643: Introduction to Ancient and Modern Geography; Germania Antiqua.

[1] Christian Karl Barth: Religion of the Ancient Germans; Primitive History of Germany.

[2] Ernst Theodor Gaupp, born in Lower Silesia, May 31st, 1796; alive; professor of law in Breslau: History of the German Empire and Law in Germany; The Ancient Laws of Magdeberg and Halle; Les Fresoncona; Laws of the Thuringians; Laws and Constitution of the Old Saxons.

The Mayors of the Palace by Pertz[3], and Louis the Pious by Funk[4], are the best works which have been written on the history of the Carlovingian race.

Much has been written on the Ottos, yet we are still in want of profound investigation into the circumstances connected with the wars of the Slavi. The Germanizing of the Wends and Sorbanes is one of the most important and influential events in German history: perhaps, however, it is merely a feeling of shame for the horrible cruelties by which it was accompanied, which has prevented German historians from entering deeper into them.

Stenzel[5] has written the principal work on the period of the Salic emperors; Friedrich von Raumer, that on the Hohenstauffen. Much light has been thrown upon the ages which are nearer our own, even in what relates to the church, by the histories of the crusades, and those of the art and poetry of the middle ages.

Comparatively little notice has yet been taken of the Luxemburg emperors. The history of

[3] Georg Henrich Pertz, alive in Hanover: History of the Merovingians.

[4] Friedrich Funk, born at Frankfort on the Maine, February 10th, 1804; alive; political prisoner in Hardenberg: Political Pamphlets; Ludwig der Fromme; History of the Dissolution of the Frankish Empire.

[5] Gustaf Adolf-Hanald Stenzel, born at Zerbst, March 20th, 1792: History of Prussia; History of Germany under the Frankish Emperors.

Henry the Seventh by Barthold [6] is very profound and distinguished. On the other hand, neither Charles the Fourth, one of our most remarkable emperors, nor the wars of the Hussites, have yet met with an historian capable of performing in a proper manner the great task of describing them. The history of the Hanse league by Sartorius [7], does not satisfy all our desires; and we are still in want of a history of the confederacy of the Upper German and Rhenish towns, such a history as must and ought to be written by a modern historian, though, to be sure, much has been done for the history of individual states.

The period of the Reformation has been sufficiently treated of, yet men continue to elucidate it afresh. The first spiritual history of this period was written by Woltmann [8]; F. C. von Buchholz has, within these few years, in his Life of Ferdinand the First, described with the greatest erudition, though with a catholic feeling, its principal events. Besides these, there are many particular works, treating of individual scenes and

[6] Friedrich Wilhelm Barthold, born September 4th, 1799; alive; professor of history in Greefswald: Der Römerzug König Heinrich von Lützeburg; Georg of Fründsberg.

[7] G. Sartorius: History of the Hanseatic League.

[8] Karl Ludwig von Woltmann, born at Oldenburg, February 9th, 1770; died at Prague, June 19th, 1817: History of Germany during the Saxon Period; History of Great Britain; History of Peace of Westphalia; Continuation of Schiller's Thirty Years' War; History of the Reformation; History of Bohemia; Memoirs of the Freiherr von S——a.

leading characters of the Reformation, among which the elucidations which Oechsle[9] has given, respecting the wars of the peasants, are particularly distinguished. The Thirty Years' War has also been often specially treated of. The most modern work on this subject is that by Friedrich Förster[1] and Schottky, containing the disclosures regarding Wallenstein; the History of Bavaria under Maximilian the First, by Wolf; that of the Brunswick territories under Duke Georg, by Graf von der Decken, &c. By these modern investigations, and others of the same kind, the former accounts have been completed, and totally new views have often been attained.

The influence of the siècle de Louis the Fourteenth upon Germany, has not yet been sufficiently described, though this would be the subject of an excellent work. The war of the Spanish succession has not been described in accordance with the views of modern history, and upon the foundation of new documents, since the old work of Herchenhahn, which, however, is

[9] F. F. Oechsle: also, Heydietrich's Bridal-procession and Marriage.

[1] Friedrich Förster, born at München, September 24th, 1792; alive; keeper of the Chamber of Arts at Berlin: Life of Frederick the Great; Life of Friedrich Wilhelm I.; Wallenstein, as portrayed in his unprinted and confidential Letters (from which the materials of Major Mitchell's work on Wallenstein are, I believe, extracted). Now engaged writing the Courts and Cabinets of Europe during the Eighteenth Century:—vol. i. and ii. Court and Cabinet of Charles VI.; vol. iii. Court and Cabinet of Friedrich August II. of Poland.

in some respects very useful. Förster is the first who has, by his history of Friedrich Wilhelm the First, opened up a new path. The work of Preuss[2] on Frederick the Great, is more profound than any of the former ones by Archenholz, &c. It was impossible that more modern times could meet with historians comprehensive, and at the same time impartial. Manso's History of the Misfortunes and War of Prussia is the best that has hitherto been written on this subject. On Austria, Schneller's[3] work is the most remarkable.

The most numerous as well as the best special-histories are those which have been written of single provinces, or even single cities of Germany. As it is impossible here to enter into the immense number of names, I must therefore again refer my reader to my History of the Germans. I may, however, here allude to the most distinguished. Justus Möser's History of Osnabrück, Spittler's History of Hanover, and Lang's History of Baireuth, are distinguished for their spirit; Voigt's[4]

[2] Preuss: Life of Frederick the Great; Frederick as an Author; Eloquence of Germany; Allemania.

[3] Julius Franz Borgia Schneller, born at Strasburg, 1777; died at Freiburg, May 15th, 1837; History of the World; History of Bohemia; History of Mankind; Austria's Influence on Germany and Europe from the Reformation till the French Revolution; other works on Austria.

[4] Johann Voigt, born August 27th, 1786; alive; professor of history at Königsberg: Pope Gregory VII. and his Age; History of the Lombard League; History of Murienburg; History of the Fehmgericht in Relation to Prussia; History of Prussia from the most Ancient Times till the Downfall of the Power of the German Order.

History of Prussia, Mailath's History of Austria, Rommel's [6] History of Hesse, Campen's History of the Netherlands, Warnkönig's [6] History of Flanders, by their lucid manner of surveying, and by their profoundness: Ildefons von Arx's [7] History of St. Gall, Gensler's History of the Grabfeld, Jäger's [8] History of Ulm, Kirchner's [9] History of Frankfurt, &c., not to mention many others, scarcely less distinguished, by their accurate investigations into the state of the burghers and peasants.

We Germans have never had such a richness of Memoirs as the French. Our statesmen seldom laid claim to the title of *beaux esprits;* they commonly despised the trade of authorship, or incted by feelings of exaggerated loyalty and fear, and out of regard to the interest of their families, they did not dare to wield the pen. This is the reason that in early times we find only the memoirs of the Freiherr von Pöllnitz [1], a noble adventurer,

[6] Rommel: History of Philip Landgrave of Hesse.

[6] Leopold August Warnkönigs; alive: History of Flanders till 1305 (unfinished).

[7] Ildefons von Arx, born at Olten, in Solothurn, October 3rd, 1755: History of the Canton of St. Gall (1810).

[8] Wolfgang Jäger, born at Nürnberg, December 22nd, 1784; died May 30th, 1795; History of the Germans; History of Ulm; Life of Henry VI.

[9] A. Kirchner: Views Respecting, and History of, Frankfort on the Maine.

[1] Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz, born near Cöln, May 25th, 1692; died June 23rd, 1775: Mémoires de Carl Louis Baron de Poelnitz, contenant les Observations qu'il a fait dans ses Voyages; Letters and Memoirs with New De-

and those of the Markgräfin (Sophia) von Baireuth[2]. Both were independent in consequence of their talents and their spirit, and position in society; both wrote in French. Then followed the memoirs of Frederick the Great[3] and of some statesmen, Herr von Dohm[4], Graf Görz[5] and von Massenbach[6]; then, in fine, those of the Herr von Gager and von Strombek[7], as well as those edited by

tails of his Life and Adventures; Memoirs to serve as a History of the Four Last Sovereigns of the House of Brandenburg (Prussia), 1791; La Saxe Galante.

[2] Sister of Fredrick the Great.

[3] Frederick II., king of Prussia, born January 24th, 1712; died August 17th, 1786: Antimachiavel, ou Critique sur le Prince de Machiavel; Histoire de Mon Temps; Memoirs for a History of the House of Brandenburg. Works translated by Holcroft.

[4] Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, born at Lemgo, December; 11th, 1751; died May 29th, 1820: History of the Wars of the Disputed Succession of Bavaria; On Emancipation of the Jews, League of German Princes.

[5] Johann Eustach Graf von Görz, born 1737; died August 7th, 1821: Historical and Political Recollections; Historical Memoirs relating to the Neutral Army of 1801; Authentic Memoirs and Decrees relating to the Negotiations which preceded the Partition of Poland (works all in French).

[6] Christian von Massenbach, born at Schmalkalder, in Hesse, 1780; died in Posen, November 27th, 1726: Memoirs to Assist in Writing a History of Prussia, under Friedrich. Wilhelm II. and III.; Memoirs to Assist in Writing the History of the Decay of Prussia since 1772.

[7] Friedrich Carl von Strombek, born at Brunswick, September 16th, 1771: Contributions to the Jurisprudence of Germany; Tour in Italy; Mirror of German Princes (*Deutsche Furstenspiegel*); Memoirs of My Life and Times.

Rüder, which are attributed to a great statesman[8]. Grateful descendants have now begun to publish the memorials of their ancestors. Thus there was lately published the interesting biography of Field Marshal von der Schulenberg, who served in succession almost every potentate. But what the German statesmen have left us, is infinitely little when compared with what they could have told us.

The work of Büsching[9] on the geography of Germany, was long looked upon as the most complete. Very lately, however, a great number of excellent geographical descriptions of our country have been published, among which, those of Stein[1], Vollrath[2] Hoffmann, &c., are particularly distinguished for their lucid arrangement and completeness in little bulk. Among the Tours, the very extensive one of Nicolai was formerly looked upon as the highest model, yet his Berlinese subjectivity obtruded itself in so disagreeable a manner, that objective delineations like

[8] Hardenberg, formerly prime minister of Prussia.

[9] Anton Friedrich Büsching, born at Stutthagen, September 27th, 1724; died May 21st, 1793: Geographical Description of the Earth; Lives of Illustrious Personages; Magazine of History and Geography.

[1] Christian Gottfried Daniel Stein, born at Leipzig, October 14th, 1771; died June 14th, 1830: Manual of Geography and Statistics; Geographical School Books; Lexicon of Geography and Statistics for Men of Business; Manual of the Geography and Statistics of Prussia; Travels in almost all the States of Modern Europe.

[2] Karl Friedrich Vollrath Hoffmann: The Earth and its Inhabitants; Europe and its Inhabitants; Germany.

those of Gercken[3], Küttner, &c., were well received. In fine, the humourous Weber has in his Germany (or Letters of a German travelling in Germany), described our whole fatherland—partly as a far-travelled man and an eyewitness, partly as a *polyhistor*, who has made himself master of the numberless topographies and special histories which we possess, and as a humorist with insurpassable humour.

[3] Philipp Wilhelm Gercken, born at Schwarzenbach, January 5th, 1722; died at Worms, June 27th, 1791: History of Brandenburg; Statistics of Slavonia; Travels in Swabia, Bavaria, &c. &c.

POLITICAL SCIENCES.

IN no branch of our literature is the foreign tinge so conspicuous, as in that of politics. We, it is true, were the actors in the Reformation, yet the English and French have preceded us in all the political improvements of modern times, so that whether we affirm or deny, whether we imitate or oppose, we refer everything to the precepts and example of our neighbours beyond the Vorgesen[1] and the Channel. In the beginning of last century our princes were in general mere copies of Louis the Fourteenth; now our chambers are miniature chambers of deputies, miniature English parliaments. We are, unfortunately, in miniature what our neighbours are on a large scale; we are in detail what they are as a whole. We are dismembered and confined; we are be-

[1] Les Vosges, the mountain chain which separates Alsatia from Lorraine.

hind the age. When we at last began to imitate our neighbours, we put on their cast off-clothes as if we had been their servants.

We Germans appeared for some time as if we were not going to have anything more to do with politics. None any longer troubled their heads about politics, except some few people in some few cabinets, who quietly guided the machine. The anti-political tendency of the Germans during last century was so decided, that even in our own days Vollgraff could, with some plausibility, argue that the Germans were never intended by nature to be statesmen.

We were roused from this apathy only by a force from without; but the natural instinct was wanting, and along with it all originality, everything noble and great.

We have suffered enough to compel us to take an interest in politics, yet have done too little to be able to perform, in their behalf, anything of importance. We have before us too many models, and we have too little self-confidence to be ourselves models. Our condition, therefore, having no definite character, changes with every wind. There are nowhere so many transition-states (*mezzo-termine*) as in Germany. We wish to do everything right; few, however, possess the power of doing right, who have not at the same time felt the necessity of doing so. But there are too many claims, and as the principal claim of the present age, as well as of the German phlegm, is moderation and peace, it cannot well be otherwise.

We have been forced upon the political scene,

through the mazes of which we cannot thread our way. What has been done under the influence of compulsion, cannot properly be called acting; our speeches, therefore, mean very little.

Those nations alone, whose whole energy has been concentrated in public life, have always been distinguished by a political literature, as for example, the Greeks, the Romans, the English, the French, and in better days, the Italians. To these we must accord precedence. We have, indeed, no want of theories and fantastic dreams; perhaps we are even richer than other nations in them, because the imagination has a freer room for action, the less that men are allowed to busy themselves with a noble and beautiful reality. Our philosophical systems, too, produce many and various views of social and political life. Theories, however, bear to life much the same relation that poetry does. Men dream themselves into a political El-Dorado, yet awake as stupid as they were when they fell asleep. Since the Germans have no great and free tribune, it might have been expected that they would employ their whole strength with so much the greater effect in literature. There verse, however, is the case. A good political literature must always take its rise in the school of political eloquence.

Religion for some time occupied all the attention of the nation, so that even the great revolutions caused by the Reformation, rather served to lull to sleep, than to awaken, a love for politics among the people, though they had an opposite tendency in the courts. At a later period there

arose a love of a quiet and easy life, which threw into oblivion almost all political questions. Wealth did not increase so fast, that its superabundance had to seek vent in the production of great actions and institutions; neither, however, did it sink so entirely that despair led to revolutions. The royal houses, almost without exception, enjoyed the child-like confidence of their subjects, especially after their mutual interests had been so closely interwoven during the religious struggles. The masses had food, and distinguished minds found a suitable sphere of action in the sciences and arts. The French Revolution, and the way in which it was received in Germany, sufficiently proved how little tendency there was to, and preparation for, an active political life in Germany.

The German prefers a domestic to a public life, a little circle of friends to a great society, peace to tumult, meditation to disputation. It must be confessed that these national characteristics have led to as many vices as misfortunes; that they have been the cause of those faults with which we have long been so often and so justly reproached, foolishness and oppression, caused by foreign customs, insensibility to national disgrace, neglect of general interests, narrow, confined, and prejudiced views, and a tendency to fall into a state of idle inaction. On the other hand, however, our past history proves, that these same leading features of our national character may occur in union with great political deeds and institutions. From these has sprung that giant tree of the old Teutonic constitution, which

has for centuries afforded a blissful shade to Europe. The Teutonic constitution differs from all those of ancient times, in the circumstance of its considering the interests of the community subordinate to the liberty of the individual and the claims of domestic life. There the state was intended to promote the interests of the individual, while in Rome and Sparta the individual was the slave of the state. That universality (*Allgemeinheit*) of the state, which alone is all-powerful, to which every citizen is unconditionally subject, which has a will of its own and aims of its own, has always been repugnant to the disposition of the Germans. This dislike felt towards the idolatry of the secular power, paved, at an after period, the way for the introduction of that of the hierarchy. In the end, however, it brought us into a condition which was completely passive; we were governed without knowing it, we suffered everything, yet scarce one of a thousand ever asked,—why?

Yet the sympathy for and love of politics has of late become very strong. Great misfortunes have reminded us of the faults by which they were caused. The revolutions of our neighbours have forced us sometimes to imitate them, but sometimes, also, to observe their conduct. Powerful influences from without have, in various ways, modified our internal political condition, and we ourselves have effected many improvements. An advanced state of culture requires many changes. The wars, which we carried on in defence of the existence of our states, have made them dearer to us, so

that we look upon them with greater interest than formerly. The political honour which we have again attained, has revived in a beneficial manner our liking for politics. Deeds have led us to reflect.

This new policy, however, has been formed chiefly in a foreign school; all parties, the cabinet, the estates, the liberals, have received their instruction from foreign countries. Wherever the peculiarities of the German character exist, they show themselves in the same rage for forming systems and love of fantastic dreameries which we have introduced into all the branches of science. Practical men, those who guide the vessel of the state, are as little exempt from this as the quiet enthusiasts in their studies, who guide nought but the pen. The former wish to force the impossible upon the present, the latter the possible upon the future. The former stretch the nations upon their tables, like St. Laurence upon the gridiron; the latter take delight in filling their imaginations with golden dreams of the future, which, like paper, bears everything, but in which the cow will starve before the grass grows. If a public, which is completely passive, should venture to complain of the violent measures to which theorists would have recourse, or to smile at the fantastic dreams of the idealists[2], it may be said of both sides, with Fichte,—the public is no reason why we should distort our wisdom into folly.

[2] *Ideologen.* Those who have a tendency to form ideal theories.

The worst feature of the business is, that neither party ever thinks of the material freedom of the people, which, however, is the next step in our progress to culture, and which alone can be of use to us. The practical political reformers carry by storm the quiet existence of the Philistines, and offer up the individual to the whole; the enthusiastic reformers of the world, however, think only of moral freedom, of an ideal state, which may, perhaps, be realized at the end of time.

We do not derive any particular consolation from those checks, which, in some degree, prevent those political reforms and re-organizations now so frequent, from breaking out into open violence. This is the respect for what is old, in itself a venerable feeling, but which, in the state into which we have been irresistibly forced by the age, can never lead us back to the consistent nature of the old system, so that it is only a hindrance to the consistency of the new one. Between the two we find a system made up of patches of other systems; men are constantly building up and pulling down; institutions have been maintained from all ages, and for all ranks—particular ones at every particular place; countless new ones have been appended to them, so that all bear the same relation to the simple one, which we might have, that an old-clothes shop does to a new suit of clothes. Practical politicians must not be mere theorists; they must be also philologists and historians, for learning is not

so much under the wing of the state, as the state is under that of learning.

We can put as little confidence in that check which restrains the extravagances of those who wish to ameliorate the condition of the world. This is the censorship; we cannot think of the deficiencies of our political literature, without being immediately struck by the great voids which it presents, voids caused by the censorship, which might be filled up by all those works which are suppressed by the restraint imposed on the liberty of the press. These have a disagreeable effect, inasmuch as they lead us to observe the timid, partial, and stupid opinions which are called forth in such numbers by the dread of the censorship, or by the confident belief that it will not permit any competition of better opinions. But I have already spoken on this subject. The evils of censorship are not of new date; they only change the place upon which they fall, belonging, apparently, to the infantine diseases of nations. They are an eruption which, though it here and there destroy the skin, never kills the child.

Before examining the literature of practical politics, let us cast a glance at the various theories which have been proposed. All practice proceeds from theory. The age is past in which nations quarrelled from a kind of physical overflow of spirit, or from accidental local causes. Now they generally fight about ideas; so that their struggle is an universal one, one which finds an echo in the hearts of the people them-

selves—the struggle of one nation against another, only in so far as the one nation entertains this, the other that idea. The struggle has become entirely philosophical, in like manner as it formerly was religious. Men do not now contend about their country or about a great man, but for *convictions*, to which nations as well as heroes must submit. Nations have vanquished with ideas, but they were disgraced as soon as they dared to put their names in the place of the ideas; heroes have acquired, by means of ideas, a certain dominion over the world, but they mouldered in oblivion as soon as they deserted these ideas. Men have changed: ideas alone have remained unchanged. History was nothing but the school of principles. Last century was richer in far-seeing speculations; the present is more plenteous in views (*egards*) and inductive principles. Both have in them the momenta of events, by which everything that has happened may be explained.

There are only two principles or opposite poles of the political world, and parties having encamped at the two poles of the great axis, contend with ever-increasing acrimony. Every shibboleth of the party, does not, it is true, apply to every individual supporter: nay, many are scarcely themselves aware that they belong to any definite party; the members of a party often fight among themselves, in consequence of drawing very different conclusions from one and the same principle. In general, however, the most acute critic, as well as the common newspaper-reading public must

draw a distinction between liberalism and servilism, republicanism and despotism. Whatever may be the shades—that *chiaroscuro*, and those tints which are so mixed as almost to have lost all colour—in which the two principal colours pass over into each other, these principal colours are themselves never concealed, they form the great, the only contrast in politics.

I prefer giving an historical account of, to defining, *liberalism*.

The Reformation was liberal, in as far as it opposed, not merely the ecclesiastical, but also some of the secular institutions of the middle ages. All the princes who, under the pretext of a love of religious liberty, threw off the imperial yoke, were looked upon as very liberal. Chemnitz, or Hippolytus a Lapide, and Puffendorf, who, fighting for the interests of Sweden and Brandenburg, attacked the old imperial constitution, thought themselves very liberal. They were the innovators, the revolutionists of their age. The Revolution, the overthrow of the Holy Empire during the middle ages, was caused by, and was conducted for the advantage of, the princes.

Reform was the first garment, the first name, of European liberalism. The second was enlightenment, or philosophy, for the promoting of which, last century was named the Philosophical Century. Here, too, the princes did all that lay in their power to promote this study. Enlightenment served their interests in two ways; partly in opposition to the church, which was deprived of all its property, partly to the nobility,

who now became thoroughly submissive to their superiors. Joseph II. was not the only one who opposed enlightenment to the pope and the magnates of the land; Pombal in Portugal, and Catharine II. in Russia, used it in the self-same way, and for the self-same purpose. Enlightenment, which was found to be a sure and effectual method of rendering the hierarchy and aristocracy completely powerless, and of, on the other hand, strengthening absolute monarchy, made an amazing progress during last century in almost every state of Europe. The courts were all enthusiastic in its behalf; courtiers and philosophers embraced and kissed each other.

MANKIND became the watchword of this enlightenment. Joseph II. threw open to the Viennese a large public garden, upon the gate of which was inscribed: "To Mankind, from its Esteemer." Everything was in unison with the words of that novel, in which an enthusiastic youth exclaims, "Ask me, I entreat of you, my father; O ask me, what I think of men, that I may answer with joy, They are my brothers, and I love them with a brother's love!" Rousseau's works, and their influence upon German education and poetry, as well as the influence of the English philosophy, inductive psychology, and moral descriptions, increased, to a great extent, this unisal philanthropy.

The whole affair, however, was a mere thoughtless amusement, which had become fashionable. Either the courts did not really rightly know what they were about, or they must have been amused

at finding that their actions were so completely opposed to their words. Frederick the Great wrote an Anti-Machiavel, in which he zealously opposed the political immorality of the Florentine: Catharine II. kept up a close and friendly correspondence with the noblest philosophers and poets, and wrote the most *humane* and noble sentiments. And what did they *do* who wrote such fine words? Let Poland tell.

Enlightenment, where it was not opposed to the clergy and nobles, where it did not support the aristocracy alone, where it was intended to aid in ameliorating the condition of the people, was little more than a mere sham-fight.

A traveller, or even a whole ship's crew, was sent to the fifth quarter of the globe, or to the centre of Africa, to teach the savages our civilization and our vices, and to bring back a few of them with other curiosities to amuse their highnesses. Swiss, and Swiss cows, were procured, or miniature colonies with Dutch houses were founded, as a plaything for princesses, who wished to dress themselves like country girls and play at Arcadia. Manufactories of beet-root sugar and lactucarium were founded, in order to boast of these home-grown colonial products. It once happened, that, in a year of scarcity, a whole province was compelled to plant tobacco in place of corn. These were the material benefits of enlightenment in an age in which many thousand Germans were sold to the colonies, in which the torture, the cat-o'-nine-tails, the running the gauntlet, bondage, exemption of the nobles from

taxation, exclusion of the burghers from commissions in the army, were all still in operation.

There was no want of authors to explain and comment upon these contradictions, but they either could not or would not speak boldly out. The few who dared to do so were all Würtemburgers, in whom the ancient spirit of Teutonic freedom had not yet quite perished, inasmuch as in their little territory the estates still kept up the appearance, at least, of their old rights. Johann Jacob von Moser[3] was imprisoned for the crime of having told the truth among courtiers, of having been a man among women. Germany was so poor in political truth and political courage, that, during the whole of last century, this one man was almost the only one who distinguished himself by the possession of these qualities. Yet he is already forgotten. His excellent works, in which we find, amidst many antiquated opinions, many truths written for eternity, ought to be more valued than they are. The poet Schubart[4] followed Moser in his bold language, and into prison. He was not, it is true, a politician or a lawyer, but he *felt* better than any of them. His Swabian Chronicle, and his poems, contain dia-

[3] Johann Jacob von Moser, born at Stuttgart, 1701; died, ibid., 1785: Modern Public Law of Germany (50 vols.); New Public Law of Germany (26 vols.); State Archives of Germany (13 vols.); wrote in all 404 volumes.

[4] Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, born at Oluron-theim, in Swabia, April 20th, 1739; died, Oct. 10th, 1791: Deutsche Chronik; poems; satires; Lectures on the Fine Arts; Songs of Death. See a short sketch of his eventful life in Carlyle's Life of Schiller, note A. pp. 312—325.

monds of purest water. The great poet Schiller trod in his footsteps. He depicted in his Cabal and Love the great gulf which separates the petty politics of the court from the great and noble claims of humanity. He, too, was compelled to seek safety in flight.

Other liberal authors escaped persecution, because they were more moderate or more cautious. Lessing gave us, in his Emilia Galotti, a picture of courts, which has done them far more injury than could have been effected by the works of a hundred political pamphleteers; but the tender veil of fiction was his strong shield. At a later period Iffland introduced on the stage all possible political misery; but as he never failed to throw the blame off the masters, and upon the shoulders of the servants, the censors were not offended by them. Herr von Meyern wrote the political novel Dyanasore, in Volney's spirit, but these raving hymns to freedom, which moved in the land of ideals and theories, gave no direct offence. Justus Möser reminded men of the age of Teutonic freedom, and Klopstock celebrated it in song, but the age of perukes was too far distant from it for these spells not to appear ludicrous. Schlözer lashed with an unsparing hand the petty countlings, abbots, and Philistines, but he was obliged to speak of the great in a more tender manner.

A more accurate acquaintance with the classics, and with the English and French, was the principal cause of the study of politics becoming common among us Germans, and of our conceptions

of them being cleared up. The labours of Archenholz, as a journalist, were of great use in making us acquainted with the state of the English. Further, the opinions entertained by educated physicians and naturalists, who, standing upon a higher vantage ground, criticised the bigotry so prevalent in Germany, exercised a considerable influence. This was done by the celebrated physician, Zimmermann, in his excellent work on National Pride; by Georg Forster, too, the celebrated circumnavigator of the earth, in his Views of the Lower Rhine, &c.

All these enthusiastic men exercised some influence over the people. In the school, the starched teachers of public law, who filled the archives of Wetzlar with acts of the Imperial Commission, which the French had a merry day's work in burning, were the only ones who remained behind. Spittler, who wrote the first sensible manual of politics, stepped forth between the liberal popular authors and the dried prosy professors, as Aristotle did between the Platonists and sophists. His system betrays some symptoms of Aristotelian coldness and dryness, because he takes men as they are, and not as they should be. He has, however, exercised a very beneficial influence upon the scientific treatment of politics, by the clearness of his classification and of his leading ideas.

This was the first period of liberal political literature in Germany. It was, as a whole, very harmless and innocent, nay, often childish. We lamented our condition, and dreamed of better

things, but we seldom thought of the means by which bad might be changed into better.

This impractical tendency was not to be so soon given up. The French Revolution and Napoleon's iron sway were the causes which precipitated us into the abyss of theory. The historical foundation tottered; the old empire crumbled to the ground; the last guarantees of a freedom which had long been withered, became extinct. Then we extended both hands into the air, to catch even a fleeting hope; but, alas, we caught nothing but theories and dreams. At first we vied with the French. They formed a republic; we then proved with a grave air that the republican was the best form of government. At that time, while we were raving about freedom, our country was drawn away from beneath our very feet. At a later period we again called to mind this country; we again recovered it, and raved about nothing but Germany, without even being aware that our liberty was again drawn away from under our feet.

Fichte stood at the head of those who had been led by the French Revolution to entertain the boldest opinions regarding the philosophy of liberty. There had long been liberal theories; nay, even in the very middle of the Revolution, there were in Paris very acute systematizers; but our Fichte was the first who promulgated a more profound and scientific system of the doctrines of freedom. He deduced the conditioned freedom of society from the unconditioned freedom of the individual. He made the freedom of

the will a principle from which he deduced the *Contrat Social*. But he did even more than this; he deduced the state from a moral principle, proving, that freedom is not a right but a duty of man. This characterizes him as a German. We are very moral in our ways of thinking. We pay more attention to what men owe than to what they are entitled. Right appears to us to exist only when every one does his duty. All the political struggles of other nations have been about right. The French of all parties, for example, have always looked upon the best political condition as a right, whether they considered it as existing in freedom or in despotism, whether as a primitive right of man, or as a right derived from history. It is not long since they endeavoured to assert the principle, that right is only a duty! a principle which has long been maintained by German honesty. Fichte said: "Right is what our conscience commands; therefore a duty. What our conscience does not forbid, we may do; and whatever we may do, is a RIGHT."

This enthusiasm for a freedom which is inseparable from virtue, seized the young men at our universities, and spread itself till it ended in the *Tugendbund* and the *Burschenschaften*[8]. Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation, excited great attention. On the other hand, one of his most remarkable works, An Anonymous Vindication of the French Revolution, was neglected and forgotten amidst the alarms of war.

[8] The Associations of Students. See Russell's Tour in Germany.

One of our most amiable men, Georg Forster[9], arrived by a different process at the same result. We may, if we choose, compare him with Lafayette. He had seen the world; he returned from the sea; he was amazed at the German pedantry; he inculcated the doctrine of pure humanity, freed, as he wished it to be, from the prejudices of the people. He was seized, when in Mainz, by the fiery stream of the French Revolution. Inspired by a love of freedom, he forgot his country, and leagued himself with the fools and knaves, who, at the command of a French general, established a French filial-republic on the Rhine. But he soon became conscious of his error, and died. Besides him, Wedekind[1] distinguished himself as a pamphleteer. He, however, merely translated into German, in a very meagre way, the creed of the French Jacobins. Endowed with far more original talent, with a spirit of historical penetration, with clear and philosophical thoughts, and with a glow of poetry, Görres, who afterwards became so very different, wrote at

[9] Johann Adam Georg Forster, born near Danzig, Nov. 26th, 1754; died at Paris, 1794: Miscellaneous Writings, on Politics,. &c.; translated Sacontala of Kalidasa; (first husband of Theresa Huber).

[1] Georg Christian Gottlieb Freiherr von Wedekind, born at Göttingen, Jan. 8th, 1761; alive; physician and privy-councillor to the Grand Duke of Baden: Remarks on Jacobinism; France in the third year of the Republic (1796); Letter on the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire; Fragments on Religion; On the Duties of Man; medical works—On Fevers; On Vaccination; &c. &c.

Coblenz his Herguelmer, or Political Zodiac, and his Number Nip (*Rübezahl*), in which were advocated the boldest and most uncompromising principles of freedom. The imprudent, and, in part, cowardly and faithless conduct of many petty spiritual and temporal lords in Western Germany, especially after the congress of Rastadt[2], gave occasien to the satires of Momus, which were sometimes clever. Huber[3], who married the widow of Georg Forster, who afterwards became celebrated as a novel-writer under the name of Theresa Huber, was distinguished among those liberal journalists, who could breathe more freely and express themselves more unreservedly, after the peace of Basel, by which Prussia acknowledged the French republic. There were also published multitudes of anonymous works, in which French freedom was sometimes praised, though at others revenge was taken on the old governments. Thus there were published several works attacking the careless administration of Bayreuth, which was at last put an end to by the Prussian government under Hardenberg. There was no want, either, of patriots, who, in pamphlets, showed their exasperation at the results of the Rastadt congress. Freiherr von Gagern wrote at that time a patriotic lamentation, which, however, did no good. All these weak

[2] April 28th, 1799; held to conclude a peace between the French republic and the German empire.

[3] Michael Huber, born in 1752; died in 1804: editor of the Augsburg Gazette.

appeals to reason and honour were soon silenced by the iron tyranny of Napoleon. The honest Seume, who fell a sacrifice to the wretched state of Germany, who, having been sold into the colonies, there raised himself by his talent, but was, when he returned to Germany again, exposed to want and wretchedness, wrote his celebrated Walk to Syracuse, to shut out from his view the miserable condition of his country, which had been so maltreated by France. He died soon after, heart-broken by the misfortunes of his country, leaving behind him, in his Aphorisms, words of the deepest sorrow, of the noblest wrath. The bookseller Palm, who was the last that spoke boldly out in favour of freedom, was tried by a court-martial, and shot.

But voices of freedom now resounded in our ears, from a quarter whence we should never have expected them. The same despotic powers which had, shortly before, issued a manifesto threatening with annihilation all who favoured freedom in France, now appealed to freedom in Germany. Austrian, Prussian, even Russian proclamations summoned the Germans in the name of freedom, to fight against Napoleon; the acts of the diet promised constitutions[4] (*landständiche Verfassungen*) to the whole of Germany; nay, in some little states, they were really gradually introduced.

These events necessarily exercised a mighty influence over the political condition and litera-

[4] See note on the Carlsbad Decree, vol. i. p. 102.

ture of Germany. We no longer looked upon freedom as a mere unattainable Fata Morgana in the air, a dweller in the cloudy region of dreams, or among other nations; we imagined that, after the lapse of ages, we should now again seize hold of it upon our own soil. Men, therefore, who had hitherto thought little about the matter, now began to be interested in its fate. Liberal papers of every kind started up in every quarter; political advice was offered for sale by the bushel. There arose a liberal clamour, which was participated in even by the school-boys, of such astounding loudness, that the government became afraid, and hastened to quench it as soon as possible.

The nation then possessed plenty of feeling, but very little reflection. But whence, I ask, could reflection have come? Men were suddenly thrust into the very vortex of politics, a subject with which they had hitherto been totally unacquainted. They knew not the first rudiments of politics—the political alphabet. Obscure and misty notions of universal freedom, of representation, and such like things, floated before them, but they had no proper conception of the state in all its relations of constitution and administration, in all its parts from top to bottom. In the schools, in the establishments for education, nay, even in literature, everything political was set aside, and laughed at as something of an exceeding tiresome description. Goethe's antipathy to politics was shared in by almost every cultivated German. No one even thought of speaking in good society about municipal constitutions, of a criminal code,

or of taxation. Men knew nothing of these things, they therefore merely yawned when their names were mentioned.

We were still too full of martial enthusiasm. We were content, therefore, to feel a poetic glow for Germany, for its old recollections and new-won glory. The fatherland occupied the first place in our affections; freedom only the second. Liberalism was, therefore, at that time also Germanism (*Deutschthum*). It was truly of a lyrical nature. The works of the poets Theodor Körner, Max. Schenkendorf, Freimund Reinmar (Rückert) Uhland, Follenius, &c., were on every tongue; Germany then began to chant its freedom. Prose works, too, breathed forth this lyric fire of enthusiasm. Arndt wrote pamphlet after pamphlet, filled with a fierce hatred of the French, yet with pride and jealousy of his German fatherland, the integrity and external freedom of which, were of more value in his eyes than its internal reorganization. This last subject was taken up and written upon by Jahn, who in his Das Deutsche Volksthum, (The German Nationality,) inculcated a modern Protestant, yet liberal Germanism, with excellent intentions, though sometimes without taste, and sometimes in an unnatural manner. He did not allow sufficient importance to what was of historical growth; he enlarged too much and too ludicrously on all old customs, wishing, not only like Rousseau, to produce all at once a new state, but even a natural custom, a thing which must grow, for it cannot be made. Görres proceeded upon, and again

returned to, the old recollections of Germany. His Rhenish Mercury darted its thunderbolts against Napoleon with such violence, that the despot himself numbered it among the European powers. In this paper we see the first symptoms of that system which Görres afterwards unfolded in other works, namely, the restoration of German freedom in the form in which it was clothed during the middle ages. Even at that time all Protestants shook their heads at the thought of a freedom which might aid in re-establishing the Romish hierarchy, yet they praised and honoured the lion-hearted combatant, because he, though a favourer of the hierarchy, was not in favour of a despotism; because he, notwithstanding his whims about the church, was as liberal as, and had far more courage than, any other in opposing the temporal power. Herr von Gagern went back to the middle ages, in his endeavours to make the Protestants comprehend that they could not dispense with the old nobility, and the old nobility that they could not do without liberalism. He was unceasing in his endeavours to bring about in addition to the representation of the princes in the diet, one of the nobles; and he recommended the nobility to step in as mediators between the princes and the people. But neither princes nor people would listen to his advice. The former wanted only a dependent nobility, the latter wanted no nobility at all.

As this Germanism would in the course of time, if it had gained more ground, have encroached upon the *jura singulorum*, it was not

only put down, but even the adventitious ludicrous features which had been added by its friends, were brought prominently forward, so as to become the butt of ridicule. When German pedants, and they alone, take an affair in hand, we may be sure that folly will find its way into it. Even Jahn did not remain free from this charge. The perversity of half-mad schoolmasters was now maliciously blamed with the whole affair of Germanism, as if it were necessarily connected with it.

Discontented liberals now began to mock; and as within five years after the battle of Leipzig it was dangerous for a man to call himself a German in Germany; they began to listen anew to, and to admire the French, who although vanquished had come of better than the victors. Nothing was permitted to be said on the state of Germany; everything might be said on that of France. We now wanted to speak; we could no longer exist without political talk. We therefore occupied ourselves exclusively with France and England. If, however, any one cast now and then a side-look at Germany, it was done in an ironical manner, for the purpose of mocking the good Germans. The first satirical book of this kind, and one which afforded much pleasure to the discontented Germans, was World and Time, by the clever advocate Jassoy, of Frankfort on the Maine. He was followed by Lang[5] with his Tour to Ham-

5. Karl Heinrich Ritter von Lang, born at Balgheim, in Würtemberg, July 7th, 1764; alive; keeper of the Bavarian

melburg, and by Börne with his excellent articles in journals. Even the old Jean Paul poured forth, during the last years of his life, the vials of his bitter ridicule on the state of Germany.

There was, in truth, something very ludicrous in the circumstance of us Germans having fought such a long and terrible fight, in which we were at last triumphant, merely to make France united, great, and free, whilst we ourselves remained disunited and unfree; of us Germans having hated and persecuted the French with such a bitter hatred, while a few years after we could speak of nothing but of them, adopted all their fashions, as if we were again intended to become their servants; of us Germans having then made such a talk about *our* nationality, at which we ourselves are now compelled to laugh.

We had now time to study the English and French models; but the less a man dared to trouble himself about foreign politics and national honour, the deeper did he penetrate into the internal machinery of legislation and administration. Every liberal who looked upon the matter in a serious light, in order to make a mock of it, followed this tendency, and some of them, at least, found an opportunity of applying their new doctrine in the minor German chambers. When the revolution of 1830 broke out in France, a great disturbance took place in Germany, this new

archives: Modern History of the Princedom of Bayreuth; Nobility of Bavaria; History of the Jesuits in Bavaria; Tour to Hammelburg.

erudition showing itself to every eye in a very striking manner. Liberalism again assumed a new garb; it became a criticism of the legislation and the administration.

The transition to this was formed by Rotteck. He was still a firm believer in the truth of the theories of Rousseau and Fichte, in the principle of his Right of Reason (*Vernunftrecht*), but he had at the same time extended his researches into every department of practical government. His ideas are not new; but the realization of these ideas, the transition from the state of a school-pedant to the full activity of a statesman, is new, and has gained for him a well-merited fame. As a theorist, he is decidedly opposed to the principle of historical right, which the political romanticists have lately brought forward, and to which he opposed the Right of Reason.

All the political controversies of modern times may be reduced to that between what is, and what ought to be. The political institutions, the laws bequeathed to us by our ancestors, are, perhaps, in part at least, irrational, and, therefore, by the law of right and reason, unjust; but if we change them, property will evidently be disturbed, and the individuals who suffer by this change will again be injured by the historical right. The dispute at present is, which right is to prevail. There is doubtless a political conscience, the voice of which it is as difficult to stifle as that of the moral feelings, and this conscience tells us that reason is always justice, and that justice is only what is in accordance with reason.

But men do not obey the voice of conscience, because, if they did so, they would have to give up interests and advantages from which they have not courage to separate; in order, therefore, to stifle the voice of conscience, they seek antagonist principles, which they think will weaken the strict command of reason. The legitimacy of prescription is the most effective argument by which the historical right has always maintained its sacred aspect, when opposed to the right of reason. But however applicable this principle may be to practical life, it never does for theory, for every one feels that accidental momentary possession can be no reason for preventing the introduction of an eternal right of reason, and that this eternal right, and along with it, all the interests of generations yet unborn, must not be sacrificed to the momentary advantage of one generation, but the reverse. The position that all should be wronged for ever, is too illogical to satisfy the defenders of the historical right. They have, therefore, been compelled to search for arguments still more effective and irrefragable. Religion formerly served this purpose. First, the old, then the existing right was termed divine; and pure political questions were made theological ones, so as to be more easily answered. From that time every political opposition was looked upon as sacrilege, and as unreason was deified, reason was of course—the devil. But, in the end, this extreme had the effect of advancing the interest of the right of reason, for men are, on the whole, rational enough to see that God has as little con-

nection with positive injustice as the devil has with reason. On the contrary, reason was deified, and all the venerable phenomena of history were laughed at or pitied, as being still unfit for the ideal government of reason. This second extreme, which showed itself most decidedly in the French Revolution, tended, by a natural reaction, to reproduce a more powerful defence of positive right; and there arose in the nature-philosophical school of Schelling a completely new opinion, one which exercised a great influence, even beyond the bounds of the school, upon the opinions of politicians, lawyers, and historians. According to this opinion, history is like nature, an organized whole, which fulfils its periods of life in accordance with definite laws; and that there is as little caprice or accident in the way in which nations and states are founded, as in the formation of the three natural kingdoms. This is the reason that each nation, and each age, has some peculiar features of language, dress, customs, faith, and conduct, as well as of right; features which correspond to its general nature, are the property of its sphere of culture, and which, in this way, must not only be justified as something natural under these definite relations and circumstances, but must also be always acknowledged as something beautiful, however much this may be at variance with our modern free conceived notions and wants. According to this opinion, it is foolish to pity the Paria or the Fakir, the Spartan or the Persian, the monk or the slave, since these men did not complain of the

unreason of their law, but rather looked upon it as very natural, since their whole style of thinking, the whole circle of life in which they moved, was totally different from ours, so much so in fact, that they very probably looked upon what we call reason and happiness, as unreason and unhappiness. In every case, however, there is expressed in the phenomena of history a profound and sacred natural law, which it would be far from rational to deny or make a mock of. Life, with its variety of forms, allows to men the capability of being happy and honest on each of its steps; and though his progress and growth in history appear conditioned by the progress of reason, yet the journey is less for the aim than the aim for the journey. Herr von Rotteck does not participate in this view; he rather opposes it, as he does all other views by which men were wont to defend the historical right against that of reason. He said, there is but one right, the rational one, and because there is only this one right, every other right, whether historical or positive right, which is not in unison with this one, is injustice. This is so evident that nothing can be said against it; only it appears to me that Herr von Rotteck goes too far, when, in accordance with this principle, he condemns everything of the past which does not agree with the right of reason. No right, not even the right of reason itself, has a retrospective power, we cannot therefore blame our ancestors for not knowing what we ourselves know to-day for the first time. As the rational does not become so until it is acknow-

ledged as such, the same is the case with right; there is no injustice till it is acknowledged as such. Let us rejoice in our better knowledge, but let us mourn the testimony of history, which tells us, that the past with its innocent ignorance was not more unhappy than we are; and while we praise the providence, which has led us so far forward, we must not blame our forefathers for having left so much of the journey unaccomplished. But as injustice becomes so only when it is acknowledged as such, it is impossible then to justify it, and this is the point at which Rotteck's profound investigation and fiery enthusiastic eloquence carries away the palm. Though he may be a little too severe on the opinion which would judge the past with indulgence, and with more regard to its opinions on the fine arts than on politics, he cannot and dare not be severe enough upon that lying party, which endeavours to excuse what has now been acknowledged and proved to be an injustice, by saying that the past looked upon it as a right. The honest Rotteck, clear as truth itself and enthusiastic as the love of truth ought always to be, combats the sophists, who with hypocritical malice or in consequence of a whirling in the head, which attacks philosophers, as often as sheep, strive to confuse and mystify the simplest truths. He expresses himself strongly against the renowning[6], which toys with horrors and terrors as with trifles, against the affectation of the peaceful professors, who pique themselves

[6] See Russell's Tour in Germany.

upon playing the part of petty Neros or Napoleons upon their chairs, because the terrible sometimes wears a genial aspect. I venture to look upon it as something worse than renowning, that our celebrated jurist, Hugo, defends slavery, first, because there have always been slaves; secondly, because in many states slavery is a positive right; thirdly, because the slaves are fed by their masters, and have not to contribute to the expenses of government. Were it not that Herr Hugo is vain of his original cruelty, he would perhaps have found out that he had said something very silly. To this kind of renowning must be ascribed the expression of the celebrated Steffens: The nobles are born only for enjoyment, the peasantry only to labour; and in this there is no injustice; for to the noble, enjoyment is a labour; to the peasant, labour is enjoyment! Herr Hugo ought to be employed in a plantation in Jamaica, there to enjoy the sight of slavery; and Herr Steffens in a village where bondage exists, there to taste the pleasures of the peasant. But the gentlemen are surely not in earnest. The chair in the university is a kind of stage; and upon the stage it is well known all sorts of nonsense may be talked. Yet we think that the learned should feel themselves bound in honour to save, at least in theory, that justice which is so often violated in practice. The hero and politician, who tyrannically subjects everything to his will, and tramples justice beneath his feet, may yet be excused, in so far as imperious events caused his terror, or the greatness of his deeds have extorted our admiration.

The scholar, however, whose sacred calling it is to maintain justice, even in idea, when it is vanished from the earth, the scholar himself is not excusable in degrading himself so as to become the theoretical imitator of practical tyrants. When wisdom becomes subordinate, it always becomes folly. Herr von Rotteck proves that there is a right of reason, that there is a certain number of legal regulations, which are as incontrovertible as the mathematical rules of Euclid; and upon which positive right must be based, if it be not intended to be irrational. He does not deduce these rules either from religion, or from morality. He requires for them no extraneous sanction of any kind. He deduces them simply from the matter itself. If, he argues of them, there be any such things as relations of right, there must be in them certain correct proportions, to which all right may be reduced, and a multitude of possible disproportions, in which all real injustice is contained. Proportion consists simply in the equipoise of reciprocal rights; disproportion in the preponderance of one side over the other.

In this way only is a science of law possible, for if law be not based upon this absolute rationality and mathematical certainty, it could never be exalted to a science; it would always remain a mere aggregate of chance and capricious laws, as they proceed from the various interests of parties contending with one another, which, however, are not the natural consequence of the matter. There must, however, be such a science of absolute right, even though it should remain only the ob-

ject of inquiry for the scholar, without ever being practically applied. Herr von Rotteck wants no more than this; he wishes to preserve and critically examine the pure mathematics of right, though its regular lines may in reality be changed into the line of beauty, of injustice. In his doctrines we generally meet with old acquaintances. The law of reason is not seen for the first time to-day; it is naturally so simple, that it admits of but few various interpretations. He has, however, placed some doctrines in a new and more striking light, by dividing notions with an accuracy which, though very necessary, is in the eyes of many perhaps excessive, and by keeping separate, things which had hitherto been looked upon as convertible. In this way we should do well to keep in mind the great distinction between right and duty, between the juridical *may* and the moral *ought*, because it makes the political question completely independent of the moral one, thus meeting the objection which has always been made to the right of reason, that it takes men as they should be, not as they are; that it presupposes virtuous and ideal men, who could never have existed. Right, however, is so independent of morals, that it would apply as well to a state consisting of knaves, as to one of sages. The one nation might violate the principle oftener than the other, but the principle remains one and the same. We must pay particular attention to this point, for it is that which distinguishes the system of Rotteck from the philanthropic dreams of the earlier idealists, thus giving it, in addition to its

dignity, an appearance of solidity and scientific prosaicness, which is and ought to be considered as the criterion of sound reason in opposition to the poetical outbreaks of a humane enthusiasm.

Rotteck, and with him, his colleague Welker[6], the most zealous defender of the liberty of the press, produced less effect in favour of liberal views by their theories than by their practical efforts in the Baden chambers, upon the newspaper-reading public, and through them, upon the public in general. Weitzel[7] has gained a great fame among the liberals by his historico-philosophical reasoning; Murhardt, by his treatises on public law.

Liberal principles, however, were disseminated by speeches in the chambers, by articles in the newspapers, and local publications, to such an extent, that, among so many names, we scarcely know which to praise most. Upon the whole, political ideas and the political style have been both wonderfully improved. How astonished would Justus Möser be, were he to see the interest with which our burghers and peasants now talk about politics, and to find in every corner of

[6] Karl Theodore Welker, born March 29th, 1790; alive in Baden: The Perfect Freedom of the Press (a point which he, in 1831, advocated, then a member of the assembly of Baden States); The Liberal (a periodical); Napoleon judged by himself.

[7] Johann Weitzel, born at Johannesberg, in the Rheingau, Oct. 24th, 1771; died at Wiesbaden, Jan. 10th, 1827: Most Remarkable Events of my Life and Age; The present State of Europe (1824); History of the State Sciences; Jest and Earnest; August and Wilhelmine, and other tales.

Germany papers filled not only with patriotic dreams, but also of disquisitions on questions of public law, such as we really meet with every day.

The number of those who read political papers has increased to an amazing extent.

The papers no longer occupy themselves exclusively with foreign policy; they now enter into questions connected with that of our own country.

There is in the age, despite the censorship, an invincible desire to make everything public. Even when the censorship suppresses all liberal papers, the state-gazettes and the servile papers give, in their own way, a publicity to contested political questions.

Our political public press has already found out, by experience, that the controversies of parties have become a kind of routine; some leading questions have been so often discussed, that notions formerly unknown, or mysterious, have become clear and known to every one.

After the Rhenish Mercury of Görres of Coblenz, the Balance of Börne of Frankfort, the Franconian Mercury of Wetzel[8] in Hamburg, the Opposition Paper of Wieland (the son of the poet) in Weimar, the Nemesis of Luden in Jena, had all ceased to exist, and the Isis of Oken had gone a-wandering, no liberal journal was started after the passing of the Carlsbad Decrees, except the Neckar Gazette of Seybold,

[8] Friedrich Gottlob Wetzel, born in 1780; died in 1819; Franconian Mercury (1807); Jeanne d'Arc; Hermannfried, the last King of Thuringia; War Songs (poems collected and edited by Funk, 1838).

which soon became very moderate in its tone, and the German Observer of Liesching of Stuttgart, who was thrown into prison. After the French Revolution of 1830, this ebb was all at once followed by a flow, so that the sudden transition from chains to a wild and unrestrained license was truly surprising. Wirth[9] in his Tribune, Siebenpfeiffer[1] in his Western Mercury, some German exiles in the Courier of the Lower Rhine, preached up revolution and republicanism: nay, some of these terrorists went so far as to attack Rotteck, who appeared to them to be far too moderate, and in whom they saw nothing but an aristocrat, while his paper, The Liberal (*Der Freisinnige*), was suppressed by the Diet as being *too* liberal.

The local papers, those which took an interest in the peculiar affairs of one province or city, and began to criticise in an interesting and intelligent manner their local affairs, were far more numerous and of more influence than those which argued about matters of more general importance. Every one knows best himself where the shoe pinches him. He, therefore, who pointed out and discoursed of those wants of any particular place which were the most particular and pressing, was far more

[9] Johann Georg August Wirth, born at Hof, in Bavaria, 1800; alive, an exile in France: The Cosmopolite; The German Tribune; Account of the Hambach Festival; Political Reformation of Germany.

[1] Philipp Jacob Siebenpfeiffer, born at Lahr, near Breisgau, Nov. 12th, 1789; alive, an exile in Switzerland: Der Westbote (prohibited); political pamphlets.

attended to than he who spoke only in general terms. The people of one province or town did not, it is true, take any interest in the affairs of another; but all, though independent of one another, felt the same interest in public questions. Few editors of such papers, it is true, were celebrated, or can be ranked among our distinguished literary men, yet though, on the whole, they had but little influence on the upper ranks, they found means to make themselves of more importance on single questions among the lower classes, where they found a fruitful field which had hitherto remained almost uncultivated. Our great national literature passed unheeded before the eyes of the mechanic and peasant; this little local literature came home to his interests and feelings.

The papers which daily started up in incredible numbers were of very different value. In one place they breathed forth a noble spirit, like the Patriotic Fancies of Justus Möser; in another, they were exceedingly vulgar. Here, they were more like political newspapers; there, amusing literary papers. Here, they used the popular style of the older Village Gazette (*Dorf-zeitung*); there, more of the analysing language of the advocate. In other cases they were sentimental, pedantic, warning, intrusive, or they took delight in vulgarisms and pointless wit. The papers of enlightened countries, and of a population which was less uncultivated, were much more tolerable; but in no place were they and are they more immoral

than in München, where many vie with one another in vulgarity.

The numerous pamphlets which were written on provincial occurrences were no less influential than the local papers. Holstein alone published above thirty within two years. Hanover, Brunswick, Saxony, produced a great number of them; indeed so did every German province, in proportion as each was more or less subject to violent crises. These pamphlets, joined to the voluminous reports of the proceedings of the legislative assemblies, have increased our libraries so much that we cannot now survey them. Alexander Müller[2] and Dr. Zöpfl attempted to give, in journals peculiarly devoted to the consideration of questions of public politics, a review of the whole, but they could give nothing but fragments; they had not room for the whole. There would be no end to the matter, were we to add the Swiss with their newspapers and pamphlets. Here, thirty-eight, there, twenty-two states; in each of which questions are put and answered; wishes breathed and satisfied; demands made and refused: with all these we cannot wonder that there is a great noise and tumult.

It is the more difficult to compress the whole,

[2] Alexander Müller, born at Zell, in Fulda, in 1780; alive in Mainz: Prussia and Bavaria in concordat with Rome; Manual of Catholic and Protestant Church Law in Germany; editor of the Kanonischer Wachter, an anti-Jesuitical periodical; edites the Archiv für die neueste Gesetzgeburg aller Deutscher Staaten, 1833–9.

because the greatest differences everywhere meet our eye. In one province the same man is a liberal, who in another would be considered an aristocrat. Here we are angry at the trifling nature of a boon, which would there be looked upon as the greatest liberality; and then, to complete all the erudition which we Germans involuntarily introduce into all our public affairs, the pettiest state possesses an immensely learned and confused code of laws, which ministries and chambers vie with one another in making still more unnatural, by additions and amendments. The endeavour to be very profound, as well as that to be very liberal, begets a minuteness in legislation, which, even though wholly dictated by the spirit of freedom, would fail in its effect, because, in consequence of its pedantic artificialness and its masses of paper, it is so hid from the public eye, that the whole affair is in the hands of a few learned jurists. A law that I know, is worth more than a hundred laws which repose unknown to me in thick folios. It is not enough that we have the laws, we must understand them; they must be short and explicit. This, however, is not yet the case with us; therefore to study the various codes of German laws, and to compare them with one another, is a task which will soon surpass the powers of man.

As political interest has, within these few years, been turned away from general to local affairs, the old enthusiasm of patriotism, the longing after the unity of Germany, &c., have been but very seldom awakened. Nay, the governments have

even begun to lament that public opinion has become so unpatriotic in Germany, that the public does not place sufficient confidence in the Diet, that people are so indifferent about the Luxemburg question, that they showed more sympathy for the French Belgians than for the Germanic Hollanders, that they have in many ways opposed the Prussian custom-house league (*Zollverein*), &c. The liberals are reproached with un-German feelings, those very liberals who were formerly blamed for an excessive Germanism.

Many thought it strange and improper that Wirth should, at the celebrated Hambach Festival[3], assert the claims of the German national pride in terms as energetic as those formerly used by Arndt.

Klüber[4] has undertaken to edite and to com-

[3] The Hambach Festival was held on the 27th of May, 1832, at Hambach, near Neustadt, in Rhenish Bavaria. Its original intention was to celebrate the anniversary of the constitution given to Bavaria. This, however, was not adhered to, and in the end it came to be an assembly of all in Germany who were dissatisfied with the present order of things. The Bavarian government attempted to prevent the meeting, but the excitement was so great, that it was found advisable to let it go on. They met; thirty thousand men, from every province of Germany; speeches, filled with republican fire, were delivered by Wirth, Siebenpfeiffer, &c. The meeting separated without doing anything; the excitement cooled down; Wirth and the other leaders were seized and tried, but were acquitted.

[4] Johann Ludwig Klüber, born at Fulda, in 1762; died at Frankfort, in 183–: Acts of the Viennese Congress, 1814–5; Public Law of the German Confederacy; Droit des Gens Modernes de l'Europe.

ment upon, in a purely historical manner, the constitution, the decrees, and the protocols of the German confederacy. Herr von Gagern has demanded from the Diet a seat for nobles in addition to that for princes, while Wilhelm Schulz[5] has asked for a representation of the German state, a general chamber of German deputies, in addition to the Diet of the princes. Herr von Wangenheim has given a judicial examination of the decrees of the Diet of 1832. Paul Pfizer[6] has lately commented in a still more comprehensive way on the general public relations of the confederacy. Erudition, close argumentative demonstration, the most prudent and clearest pictures, and the noblest patriotism, distinguish these publicists in so high a degree, that the eye, which ranges through the dreary mists of the age and its literature, will dwell with joy upon these clear and beautiful phenomena.

General attention, however, has not yet been directed to the affairs of the confederacy. Is this the result of sloth, or of indifference? or is it nothing but a mischievous whim of patriotism? The public are certainly employed with other kinds

[5] Wilhelm Schulz; alive; professor in Zurich (formerly in the service of the Grand Duke of Hesse; sentenced in 1834, to ten years' imprisonment, for having published Deutschland's National Representation, and Testament des Deutscher Volksboten; escaped by the assistance of his wife).

[6] Paul Pfizer; alive in Würtemberg (where he was formerly an assessor of the supreme court): On the Origin and Progress of the Public Law of Germany; Correspondence of two Germans.

of things, than with the questions discussed by the confederacy.

Among the many isolated and petty questions, which, during the silence on great leading questions, have been thrust forward into notice, that of the emancipation of the Jews plays an important part. A multitude of pamphlets have been written on both sides, in almost every state of Germany. Riesser of Altona has used the most energetic and talented language. What he, himself a Jew, has said in favour of the rights of Jews, ranks among the masterpieces of political eloquence. Yet the children of Israel suffer even till this day from the petty regulations of Germany, and they have been granted their poor rights in but very few places. Here, men attempt to educate them; and we see the oldest people in the world treated like a little child which cannot stand on its own feet. There, they wish to convert them, with all possible forbearance; they do not compel them, it is true, to become Christians, but they cannot claim the right of citizens, nay, scarcely that of men, so long as they are not Christians. Here, they are openly hated as a foreign people, upon whom, however, as we are ashamed to kill them, we vent our barbarian courage in another way. There, men play the master, the gracious protector, but they take care not to emancipate them, lest, by so doing, they should lose the pleasure of playing the part of patron. There are even liberals who are opposed to the emancipation of the Jews, merely because Christians are not yet in all respects free. We find

everywhere that petty pride, which ridicules the Jews, tormenting them at one time with refusals, at another with half concessions, at a third with obtrusive offers of instruction. We can scarcely be surprised that men of talent and education, such as have of late years arisen in considerable numbers among this race, should become mad at this despicable ill-treatment. But the wrath of a Börne, the sarcasm of a Heine, will not aid in furthering the Jewish cause, because they foster petty antipathies, and because, under their protecting shield, a brood of common-place Jewish youths[7] is formed, who load with open scorn everything which is holy in the eyes of the Christian and the German.

Such are the different degrees of liberalism. We now come to the servile party. The names *liberal* and *servile*, which are borrowed from the Spanish, have been adopted by the whole of Europe. Servile means slavish; but it is always used to denote a voluntary dependence on a master, whether it proceed from conviction or from motives of interest.

Before the outbreak of the French Revolution, men lived in a state of remarkable innocence. The princes were often more liberal than their subjects. Like Frederick II. and Joseph II., they were the first who led the way with the ex-

[7] *Juden-jungen*—referring to the fry of young authors, who, following in the wake of Börne and Heine, have attempted to gain for themselves a name, as authors of Young Germany, Jacobi, &c. &c.

ample of enlightenment. They despised the privileges of birth, wishing to confer favour only upon those of talent and merit. They themselves were far prouder of their talents than of their birth. The numerous state officers, who were henceforward all-powerful, exerted themselves to promote the same enlightenment. Ministers, generals, councillors of state, privy-councillors, &c., sat in crowds, clothed in blue silk aprons with silver trowels in their hands, in the great lodges of humanity, solemnizing the universal equality:

Thou sister with the linen robe,
Thou brother with the order-band.

What could in principle have been more republican than this great freemason-union; yet in Germany it was most closely connected with political servilism, and none were more zealous in its defence than the state officials. This liking is a 'psychological curiosity:' yet it was natural. The soul is a balance. If, when awake, we put too much in the one scale, we shall be compelled, when asleep, in dreams, to place proportionally more in the other. Republicans take pleasure in dreaming of the joys of power. State officials like to be visionary republicans, that is, freemasons.

The people were then as honest and ingenuous as their lords and masters. They looked upon the accidental policy of the eighteenth century as an unalterable and eternal necessity. They endured caprice like a natural accident; and they did not complain more of the injury done to their crops by game than that done by a hail-storm.

There were at that time some petty German princes, who not only sucked the blood out of their territory by every conceivable means, but who even exposed to public view their private vices; yet all this did not alter the loyalty of the people. As among the Catholics, the sacerdotal order was esteemed sacred, even though the individual were unworthy, so Luther introduced the political religion, which secured to royalty an unconditional faith and obedience, whatever might be the acts of the monarchs. It therefore was not at all necessary in these simple times, to lie much or to flatter much, to advise much or to appease much. The people needed no admonitions; they kept, of their own accord, quiet and obedient and faithful. Duke Carl of Würtemberg confessed in the eighteenth century, as had been done at an earlier period by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, that princes are men and have their failings like their neighbours; yet this did not lessen their dignity, or the reverence felt for them by their subjects. Men did not think of speaking so much about the love of the people, of *alderliefest* monarchs, &c.; yet the attachment of, and the respect paid by the nation to its prince, was really far greater, and more firmly rooted, than it is now. Even philosophers, poets, illuminati—all, who raved about universal freedom and human happiness—the admirers of the ancient republics of Athens, Sparta, and Rome; the worshippers of Rousseau, of Montesquieu, of the North Americans,—were they not almost all courtiers? Did they not commonly depend for

subsistence upon the favour of the court? and were they anything but lions which were kept for the amusement of, and as ornaments to the court? France led the way. That was the first country in which was shown a menagerie of philosophers and poets invested with republican lion-manes and eagles'-feathers. The Germans, as soon as they had seen it, dismissed their court-fools, and introduced republican grand-chamberlains. The philosophical mantle and the Roman toga became liveries.

A complete change took place when the French Revolution broke out. Beyond the Rhine the joke was taken in earnest. The whole nation became republican; the splendid court was murdered one by one; the king was beheaded; the kingdom was abolished. The people, however, in all this, were acting upon principles which they had been taught by the court-philosophers and poets, nay, even by the enlightened princes and princesses themselves. There was no difference between the principles of the Jacobins and those of the men who had been so long admired in the court circles, the theatre, the academies, and the freemason-lodges, as the most classic spirits of the nation. The only difference was, that it occurred to the people to change the appearance into reality, the jest into earnest. But the courts now saw how dangerous their plaything had been, they therefore threw it from them with a shuddering feeling of horror. Henceforth no one durst attempt to play the philosopher at court. The mantles, folded like antique draperies, were

banished, and the simple livery colours again made their appearance.

Servilism then adopted for the first time a sentimental style. Men were so much terrified from their wonted propriety, that they had separated into two parties; of which, as the one was no longer attached, the other doubled its attachment; in short, from this time forth, men were no longer satisfied with making, as formerly, mere quiet and decorous expressions of respect to the courts, they indulged in passionate declarations of love, in enthusiastic caresses. The spiritual novels between the bridegroom Jesus and the soul, which, as a bride, longs for him, were repeated in politics. The servile publicists began to melt away for love of the princes, to expire in the rapture of their devotion.

The unhappy fate of Louis XVI. awakened a very general sympathy, and thus served as a foil to that political sentimentalism. The emigrés spread their feelings in every direction. Among the German publicists who opposed the French Revolution, in periodicals, historical tales, and pocket-books, and theories, thus serving as tools to the coalition, the most remarkable are the Swiss Girtanner[8], Reichard[9], Hoffmann, and

[8] Christoph Girtanner, born at St. Gall, in 1766: Historical Account of and Political Observations on the French Revolution (11 vols.); Memoirs of Dumouriez; Political Monthly Magazine (1797–1804).

[9] Heinrich August Ottocar Reichard, born at Gotha, March 3rd, 1751; died, Oct. 17th, 1828: Revolutionary Almanack; Gotha Theatrical Journal.

Schirach[1], all men without character, and without talent, mere venal fawners, who, for money, poured forth tears and curses; weak imitators of Johannes Müller, who surpassed them in hypocrisy and cleverness, because he could always put on a mask of liberalism when he was weeping crocodile tears.

These men were merely the echo of the howlings of the French emigrès in Germany, but there also arose profound thinkers, who, following the example set by Edmund Burke, in England, examined the French Revolution upon historical and anthropological principles, endeavouring to show, that it was an over-tension of the human powers, that it was an intoxication, which must end in a common-place prosaic sobriety. Rehberg[2] and Genz[3] entertained these opinions. The former has all along maintained his mental independence; the latter soon became a ministerial thinking machine, a servant, who might be ordered to think, as others are to clean boots.

[1] Gottlob Benedict von Schirach, born at Tuffenfurth, Lusatia, in 1743; died at Altona, Dec. 7th, 1804; Life of Charles VI.; Altona Political Journal (1781—1804); Biographies of Germans; Magazine of German Criticism.

[2] August Wilhelm Rehberg, born Jan. 13th, 1757; alive; privy councillor in Hanover: Inquiries regarding the French Revolution; On the German Nobility; Constitutional Fantasies of an old Pilot.

[3] Friedrich von Genz, born at Breslau, in 1764; died, June 9th, 1832: political writings—History of Mary of Scotland; Exposition of the Causes which prevented France attaining Freedom by the Revolution.

As, in Germany, every one lived in theory, those opinions which were opposed to the French Revolution, were treated in a philosophical manner by Schelling, in like manner as those favourable to it were handled by Fichte. The historical principle—it is, and can be only so! was opposed to the categorical imperative—it ought to be so! The opinion, that man may turn the world as he turns his hand, that the slow and natural course of the progress of the human mind may be accidentally interrupted and history begun anew, that mankind may be cooked by a new process, and treated in any way that any philosopher may choose; this opinion, hitherto pretty general, was refuted by the principles of reason and experience. The too-high expectations entertained of mankind were lowered. It was proved, not only from ancient, but also from modern experience, that universal freedom, equality, and virtue, was a mere chimera, for the Jacobins, who preached these opinions, were themselves most opposed to them. The Republic in France was stifled amidst tyranny, oligarchy, and in the abyss of all possible earthly vices; it became the very opposite of what philosophers had expected it to be; nay, it even murdered its philosophers after having mocked them with hellish laughter.

Two tendencies, which gave the greatest moral superiority to the anti-revolutionary party, were connected with the sympathy which the ancient families ruined by the Revolution raised, with the political calmness of Burke and with that philosophy of Schelling, which pointed to the great and

peaceful course of history, to the eternal laws of nature. These were, first, the revival of religious feelings; secondly, the revival of German patriotism. Both were directed against the Revolution, for the Jacobins had long abolished Christianity; and France had, by its victories in Germany, deeply offended our national feelings. These two tendencies, however, were combined in the interesting phenomenon of reviving romanticism, which conjured up the noble recollections of the middle ages, of the good old pious time, of the church, of chivalry, and of German legends.

Friedrich Schlegel was the real mental centre of this great party, which, being conservative, as opposed to revolution, and restorative with regard to what had already perished, was therefore pious in a theological sense, German, patriotic, and legitimate. He was of far more use than Genz, for he added to the mean of political eloquence, those of religious enthusiasm, philosophy, and romantic poetry. He, like Genz, became a Catholic, and had more companions and imitators in Graff Stollberg, Adam Müller, the poet Werner, &c. These conversions, it is true, displeased the Protestants; but the complaints against France were too general, the tactics of the restoration party were too well conducted, and too well suited to the spirit of the age, for its principles not to find support, even in Protestant North Germany, especially in Prussia.

Religion was made a prominent feature. The seriousness of the age, by which the young had been seized, and the repentance of the old for

their severely-punished sins, contributed to this even more than the sudden apotheosis of the pious middle ages.

Men proceeded upon the principle, that man is not a free agent. He is a creature of God, produced by his mercy, preserved, formed, trained, and entirely dependent upon God; and that nothing can be more foolish than human pride and insolence in consequence of supposed freedom.

The kingdom of God should be imitated in the temporal state. Absolute monarchy ought, therefore, to be looked upon as the only earthly form of government which corresponds to that of heaven. The monarch ought to be the vicegerent of God on earth; he should be looked upon as an anointed of the Lord, as the viceroy of God; his decrees and actions ought to have the power of a divine decree, even though his person, like that of an anointed priest, did not claim so high a dignity. The eternal, unchangeable, infallible authority of royalty, could never, like the sun, lose any of its splendour by adventitious spots.

Further, as in nature, creatures which are divided into unalterable classes, accommodate themselves to an eternal arrangement, men should do the same in states. Birth was looked upon as destined by God. Woe to him who dares to overstep the limits appointed him by nature, or who attempts to discompose the arrangements of society.

The liberal systems were criticised with considerable acuteness, and their excesses served as a pretext for condemning all liberalism. A great

deal of wit was levelled at that foolish optimism which fancied that it could bring about an Utopian republic, and at those opinions which tended to level everything. It was not difficult to prove from history, from the present state of the world, from the experience of ages and of individuals, that men are not made either to become perfect in every virtue, to be all equal, or to be all harmonious and united. So long then as the liberals desired too much of their beloved humanity, they did not stand in a favourable position when compared with the servilists, who did not desire so much, who laid greater weight upon their natural weakness.

The servilists, however, in appropriating to themselves a natural principle, and in borrowing from nature as existing in space, the unity, the stable authority, the sanctity of the power of the state, and the arrangement of subjects according to rank, forgot the higher historical principle of history, as exhibited in time, from which the liberals, on the contrary, deduced eternal progress in change, eternal emancipation, eternal revival from destruction, eternal revolution.

Of this kind is the uniform regularity which is here sought in dependence, as there in freedom, and which is constantly opposed by men. All cannot be equally free; neither, however, can all be equally dependent.

Since the two parties cannot agree about what is truth, it is very natural that they, without being conscious of the fact, should agree about what is error. Their great and most common error is,

that contending about human actions, they, in doing so, proceed upon ideas, for which, or by which, actions are to take place, instead of proceeding upon the powers of men, by means of which actions really are and may be performed. They think so constantly of the *ought* that they forget the *can*. They speak of an absolute freedom and of an absolute dependence, to which everything must yield; they, perhaps, even prove that freedom of will and the right of self-determination, or the dependence upon a higher essence, which rules over society, and the duty of subjection to it, is the foundation of all human actions; but they always proceed upon ideal views, wishing to lead to an ideal aim, to an arrangement of human society, in which either that freedom or that dependence must be universally acknowledged, and its corresponding political forms unchangeably fixed. All men must hold one or other of these two views; they dispute only about which of them they ought to hold.

This is the fundamental error of both parties. We must endeavour to solve the question respecting absolute freedom and independency, by the far more important one as to the relative faculties of men, and, in so far as society is spoken of, by the distribution of these faculties among men. We shall no longer be compelled to ask, ought man to be free? when we have demonstrated that all possess equal powers of being so. For the same reason we shall no longer be compelled to inquire whether the dependence of one man upon another be necessary, when we become ac-

quainted with the powers and faculties which each has originally received at the hands of nature. The republican party allows to each man the same right of freedom, in so far as it considers every one strong enough to fulfil his own duties. The servile party allows to all men the same duty of feeling themselves independent of the Supreme Being, and it grants to some the privilege of governing the dependent in the name of that Supreme Being. If men could really be at once all that either party wishes them to be, the views and the state of each of them would be equally perfect, so that it would be really of very little consequence which of them prevailed, provided only that all its members harmonized symmetrically with one another. Men, however, are not, neither will they ever be, what either party wishes them to become. An eternal strife must therefore continue. The combat itself would be quite rational, did each party wish to extend its views only so as to include those men, whose national dispositions lead them to embrace these views; but it becomes irrational, when each party wishes to force its own peculiar opinions upon all men, even of those who are by nature and disposition opposed to such views. Republicans wish to exalt all men to freedom, but a great many they can only condemn to it; for there are many men, nay, even most men, who have neither power nor fitness for any such-thing. The servilists wish to grant protection to all men in the name of God, but a great many they only condemn to this, because there are many men, who either rule them-

selves, or who neither can nor will rule, or be ruled. Both parties confess that they are, to some extent, wrong; for they allow that men are different from what they would have them to be, yet never doubting that they will be able to change them, they force upon them an education fitting them for freedom or slavery. This, however, is nothing but a new error; for education can only mould what is innate, it cannot ingraft foreign feelings.

The inclinations and powers of men are variously distributed among nations and individuals. Some cannot but be free; their physical strength, their pre-eminent talents, their powers of thought, emancipate them from every power which seeks to obtain a mastery over them, so that they either govern the weak, or the idea of justice fills them with enthusiasm, and with a wish to allow to all their fellow-men an equal right of freedom, even though they themselves should not have it in their power to give them equal powers for this, yet even in this case they have no wish to tyrannise over them, even if they could. Others are weak; and, conscious of their own weakness, they seek instinctively for some one who may govern them. They make unto themselves a master, who bears rule over them, even though he be the phantom of a dream. Between these two parties we have the whimsical,—those who do not know what they want;—and the phlegmatic,—those who are by their natural disposition condemned to absolute passiveness.

Such are the component parts of the mass, out

of which politics are always endeavouring to form something, which is sometimes incompatible with the one, sometimes with the other component part, and is therefore never of long endurance. The republicans ennoble the mob, which is not worthy of any such treatment; it forces them to rule or destroys them; they must tread upon it, or it will turn and rend them. The servilists, on the contrary, never acknowledge the nobility of freedom in the few really free. He who rates men too high, to him they openly show their baseness; whoever rates them too low, against him they rise in rebellion with a consciousness of their own superiority. This has always been the case, and in the midst of this strife history has advanced.

The reaction against France and its revolutionary principles, which, during the period of misfortune, proceeded from the pious philosophers and romanticists, was, and long remained, essentially ecclesiastical and theocratical. This was the case with Friedrich Schlegel and Görres. The ideas of the middle ages, as well as that of the superiority of the church, always floated before the eyes of these men. But as the principles of the Revolution were suppressed, as the temporal monarchs were decidedly victorious, and as they assumed in their 'Holy' Alliance even an ecclesiastical consecration, being now of themselves sufficiently strong to do without any particular assistance from the church, or from her theocratical ideas, the great majority of the servilists deserted their barren hierarchical principles to advocate those of real and practical monarchy. The Swiss

convert Haller[4], the grandson of the celebrated poet, formed the transition with his Restoration of the State Sciences, in which he did not deduce dominion from God, but the Divine from dominion; and in whose eyes nothing is holy but absolute power,—despotism.

Few after this cared about religion. There was only one political religion—unconditional submission to temporal power. Its most strenuous supporter was Schmalz[5], in Berlin, who was the first to declare publicly that the war of liberation of 1813-15 was named so only by mistake; that this misprint in the history of the world ought to be corrected; that the only question about which the war was carried on, was the restoration of the power of the princes which had been limited by Napoleon; that it had nothing to do with popular freedom, which was in reality mere nonsense. He became the accuser of the *Tugend-bund*, which he charged with entertaining revolutionary ideas, and the slanderer of all the fiery enthusiastic patriots of that age. He, however, was not so celebrated as the dramatic poet Kotzebue, who, in the pay of Russia, ridiculed in a still more malicious manner the good honest Germans, who

[4] Carl Ludwig Haller, born at Berne, August 7th, 1768; alive in Zoelli: Restoration of the State Sciences, or Theory of the Natural and Social Condition contrasted with the Chimera of the Artificial Political one.

[5] Theodore Anton Heinrich Schmalz, born at Hanover, February 17th, 1760; died at Berlin, May 20th, 1836: Right of Nature; Manual of Canon Law; German Private Law; Manual of German Public Law.

had been so foolish as to struggle for their freedom,—ridicule for which the student Sand, in a fit of patriotic madness, stabbed him to the heart.

After the passing of the decrees of Carlsbad [6], servile systems and periodicals became of course universal; but a knowledge of this fact gives us no assistance in forming a proper estimate of the spirit of the age. In consequence of the censorship putting a stop to the publication of everything liberal, those who felt quite comfortable in their old academic vanity, and those who, being young, wished to make a fortune as fast as possible, laid aside every feeling of shame, and defended opinions which were not nearly so unblushingly thrust forward during the darkest ages of the hierarchy, of feudalism, and of ancient despotism. In like manner as Julian the Apostate, who endeavoured to reinstate heathenism in its ancient vigour, exaggerated to an immense degree the heathen customs, sacrificing hecatomb after hecatomb of lions, white elephants, and other rare animals, our servile enthusiasts appeared to wish to surpass the flatteries paid to those heathen gods.

The old aristocracy of literature,—those who had arrogated to themselves exclusively the title of *vornehme Geister* (distinguished spirits),—felt quite at their ease in a situation in which the people and their representatives were forbidden to cry aloud. This state of political quietude was agreeable to all those, who, in other circumstances,

[6] See Vol. i. p. 102.

would not have been listened to with sufficient attention. Fancying, therefore, that they must support and praise the governments, they did so with an awkwardness peculiar to them, with learned timidity, pedantic bombast, and studied exaggeration. Did not the influential system of Hegel advocate the grossest, and did not Goethe seize every opportunity of promoting the interests of the meanest servilism? Nay, even Voss, who had the impertinence to give himself out for an heroic defender of freedom, did he not vie with Herr von Haller, in proving that his confession was the most servile and most submissive to the temporal power? But, above all, I must not forget to mention the hero of jurisprudence, Hugo of Göttingen; who praised as right, rational, and wise, slavery in the real sense of the word,—that of the Helots, the negroes, and the bondsmen. Schlegel had ere this said, that the peasant might go to ruin, provided the knight enjoyed the noble pleasures of youth, for that romanticism is paramount to everything. Steffens said something of the same kind. Fouqué inundated the imaginations of his readers with knights, armour, steeds, and dames, thus identifying poetry with the aristocracy. But they did not confine themselves to poetry, to mere opinions. The jesuits again made their appearance in Catholic countries; in Protestant lands the nobles again began to exclude the burghers from all privileges; and in all, great scholars arose, who gave out that it was quite right so to do,—that men must go on

just as they have begun, that the throne must re-assume its two old supports,—the priesthood and the nobility. These, however, ought to serve only as supports, without having any independent aim of their own. The zeal of royalty was much warmer than that of the hierarchy or aristocracy. But few contended for the independence of the church; the great majority of the Lutheran as well as of the Catholic clergy vied with one another only in slavish submission to the ministry. The well-known controversy about the *agenda* (the introduction of the new Prussian Liturgy, by the order of the king) was a solemn triumph of royalty, which was solemnized by almost the whole body of the clergy, over whom the victory had been gained. We again often heard the expression,—*cujus regio, ejus religio.* A certain man, named Balzer, openly inculcated this principle, urging the secular power to take steps to punish all who thought differently. One Seifert said openly, "the king's throne is God's chair." A very celebrated man, the lawyer Feuerbach, invented a formal political idol-worship.

Among the periodicals, the Eos was chiefly devoted to the advocacy of the interests of the hierarchy; Pfeilschifter's[7] tedious Noble's Gazette (*Adelszeitung*), to that of those of the aristocracy. All the state gazettes, and some argu-

[7] Pfeilschifter; alive: Statesmen's Journal for Statistics and Politics; Conversion of Miss Loveday to Catholicism; On Spain.

mentative papers, of which Jarke's [8] Weekly Journal (*Wochenschrift*) attracted most attention, paid homage to romanticism. This champion of slavery opened his lists at first in Berlin, but when Genz became old, he became a Catholic, in order to succeed him in Wien. In addition to these the Frankfort General Post-office Gazette (*Oberpostamtszeitung*), and the Mannheim Gazette, displayed the greatest zeal in the defence of servilism. The numerous band of servile local papers, which, since the revolution of 1830, have opposed the liberals, are almost countless. The liberal papers were long the more numerous, but since they were prohibited, in 1832, the servile ones have again prevailed.

It was no more than might have been expected, that, amid such changes, and during so many transition states, as we have had in Germany, political apostacies should occur; and it is a proof of a certain political honesty, that they are not more numerous and that they have not as yet been very successful. The convert, whether in church or state, is never pardoned his apostacy. Even a true patriot like Görres, lost in an instant all his popularity when he changed his opinions.

The first political convert was the notorious Witt Döring, who, for a length of time, really mystified the German public with his absurdities.

[8] Jarke; alive; professor in Berlin, and criminal judge: works on law and criminal codes; since 1831, Berliner politische Wochenblatt.

He was followed by Lindner, who, by the discovery of Kotzebue's connection with Russia, gained a great fame as a liberal, which he increased and confirmed by several clever writings. He has become one of the most distinguished public hirelings. Last of all, Münch hoped, under the cover of liberal tirades, to be as successful as Johannes Müller in changing masters, but he did not possess either his learning or his pliability.

To those who have sold themselves from one opinion to another, we must next join those, who, though they cannot decide for either opinion, feel an inclination to speak about them. The moral weaklings must be placed next to the immoral men. Those whose intentions are always baulked by their shame, come next to the shameless. These undecided chatterers have been named the political canting weaklings. They would fain reconcile everything; they would couple together devils and angels, and educate them in a Christian-German sentimental manner. They find a pretty name for every evil, and always inculcate toleration and love. Pious officials in absolute monarchies vie, in this respect, with the parliamentary orators of the constitutional states in the south of Germany.

How has it happened that this miserable sentimentalism has, after being almost completely banished from domestic life and literature, taken refuge in politics, like a run-away monkey which has mounted the chair of the judge? In politics, sentimentalism has more weight than intellect; nay, intellect is so strikingly neglected in compa-

rison with it, that men, in calling politics Christian, seem never to have remarked the *contradictio in adjecto* which mocks all logic. Love,—thou holy, yet oft-abused word! thou, too, must here serve political glue-making, in order to assist in patching together what can no longer be cut out of the solid wood, because the trunk has already been shivered into splinters. Love, Christian love, is the name of the principle of this modern school of German *doctrinaires*, who wish men to do everything for the sake of love; whilst in France, even the most benevolent *doctrinaires* always take away from this love, and supply the deficiency with law,—a cold balancing of reciprocal rights. The strongest feature of the whole matter is, that love is exalted to the rank of a compulsory power, whilst it itself cannot be forced, so that if it be not present, its place must be supplied by cold and loveless laws. All the preaching we have had about political love has proved nothing, but that it has not its abiding-place in politics. Who could, without affectation, talk of love at our diplomatic dinners or military executions, with our custom-houses and censorship, police courts and trials? There was, indeed, once a time, when state and morals, science and art, had their roots in the productive germs of Christian feeling, and when the church swayed and united all these great and life-giving powers. But that age is past; the church is in ruins; and how godless we must have become, is proved by the circumstance, that we inculcate Christian politics, where, amidst the venerable ruins of that

church, the greatest mischief is done, and the most unrestrained secular caprice disposes, as it chooses, of the affairs of the church. Love does not consist in newspaper phrases, addresses, speeches of the crown, dedications or printed theories, neither does it dwell in the fleeting and cloudy pictures of writing; there is nothing but volumes of smoke curling up from a fire which has long been extinguished. States are governed, not by love nor religion, but only by fear, suspicion, cunning, and violence. Peace itself is not a soft repose in the transports of mutual love, but only the rest of a churchyard, or of an armistice, whilst the opposing armies gaze on each other sword in hand. Since it is plain that we no longer live in the golden age, in which love, with its lily sceptre, controlled the excesses of human passions, but in an iron age, in which all these passions gnash their teeth at one another, this affectation of love is useless, or even in two ways dangerous: first, because, looked upon as hypocrisy, it only imparts additional poison to the passions on the opposite side; and, secondly, because when honestly meant, it wraps the eyes, which ought to be always awake, in the dim and murky twilight so loved by Jean Paul, which, as the proverb says, is favourable to love, but also to thieves. In former times, love produced right. But times are now changed. Right, the cold, iron right, must again reproduce love with severe throes. Has any individual anticipated his age? Let him be honoured for it. But he should not make his own love the medium by

which he looks at his own age, which is, whenever we look at it, loveless even to horror, completely devoid of the binding cord of the organic powers of life, and abandoned to the rude and primitive elementary powers of unorganized or disorganized nature,—powers, the strict and stern law of which must supply to us the soft attractions of love, if we do not wish to be seized by a chaotic want of all law and power. The truth is, that, oppose it in theory as we may, we constantly pay a practical homage to the French principle of a cold and loveless balancing of rights. What is the meaning of this hypocrisy? Were any one to hear the German *doctrinaires* speak, he would think that the celebrated European balance of power was an affair of the past, which has long been lying unheeded in the lumber-room of antiquated abuses. Yet we are all that we are, only by means of the continuance of this balance, to the mechanical laws of which Europe has never ceased to be subject. The theory of Christian politics has substituted for the technical names of this mechanism, others which are quite different, and which sound very well; but the matter remains unchanged. Constitutions and monarchies, have, like Protestantism and Catholicism, concluded a peace, in the name, it is true, of Christian love, but in reality, only from mutual exhaustion, and in the firm conviction, that each is too strong to be completely overcome by the other. Even magnanimity always proceeded from calculation, so that when a weaker state was spared, it was so only for fear of a third

and more powerful one. Where interests were at stake, the commands of disinterested love were little thought of; and where any adversary could be oppressed without any danger of injurious consequences, it was done as necessarily as that the sea should burst in, when the embankment is destroyed, or that the house should fall, when its supports are withdrawn.

It is a far more important task to become intimately acquainted with these natural laws of politics, than to immerse ourselves in the pious wishes and the memorials of the past. If any trace of love should yet remain in modern politics, it will, to a certainty, not be of a Christian character; it will far more likely be the old heathen Cupid, who, full of trickish malice, here forces those who hate each other to utter assurances of political love, and to enter into marriage contracts; there tears by violence the beloved one from the embrace of the lover; here makes the feeble old man ridiculous, by inciting him to imitate the glow of youth; and there makes youths snatch at forbidden fruit. In this manner the political Cupid played his pranks under Napoleon, in Spain and Poland, under Charles X. and among the German demagogues. But Christian love,—she had nothing to do with all these mad pranks; she sat weeping upon the ruins of the old church, till the rationalists frightened her away, upon which she fled away like Astrea, whence she had come, to the bosom of God, where she can no longer be disturbed by the accusations of the Berlin pietists.

I have so deep a mistrust of all sentimentalism, that I always expect to find a lie lurking behind it. I see in the fine phrases, the lip-service, the moral sermons and addresses to the heart, which are intended to dissolve into tears and to consolidate the parties, nothing but a concealed malice, triumphant hypocrisy and baseness, shouting, as it were, with very delight. No one but the malicious Mephistopheles, who is never wearied with pouring forth his mockery, can take pleasure in pretending that he is enthusiastic for morality, in delivering long speeches about it, in pouring forth his tears for it, and in awakening in some stupid men and very clever women that comfortable purring, which men feel as well as cats, when they are flattered and persuaded that they are very good and pious.

Fine phrases are the devil's Sunday-clothes. Fine phrases, however, are of no earthly use. If men have something more to do than to turn up their eyes in a hypocritical manner, if they are to act like moral beings, they must either be still innocent, or, if they are so no longer, necessity will seize them in its giant grasp, an internal shudder will pass through every soul, and wailing, despair, and death, will summon to the combat, strength of mind, where it still exists, so that it may be awakened from its long sleep; that strength of mind which supplies the place of the worth and power of innocence, but which never appears in any great quantity, unless awakened by some tremendous misfortune.

Zschokke is undoubtedly the most distinguished of the political euphuists (*Schönredner*). He copied, in his style, the whining hypocrisy and the bombast of Johannes Müller. Yet he was not nearly such a moral monster as Johannes Müller. He did not serve every power for money and title as Müller always did. Yet he did serve; he wrote for the tyrants, in opposition to the people. Paid by Napoleon, he abused the unfortunate Spaniards and Tyrolese; praised the French universal monarchy; fought for some time as a journalist against the allied army; ridiculed the Germans who looked for the fulfilment of the promised freedom, and mocked even the friends of Greece. But he did more; he changed sides when the political wind shifted, and wrote against Napoleon, in favour of Germanism, liberalism, and the Greeks. Like the majority of the Swiss, among whom he lived, he felt just as foreign courts paid him, or ceased to pay him; he wrote with the most amiable and smiling air of honest simplicity to-day—to-morrow, the very opposite. He always used a beautiful style, full of feeling, earnestness, and enthusiasm, as if it were a heartfelt genuine conviction, even though he had already defended the opposite with the same warmth. But we must do him the justice of saying, that he understood the German public. The liberals numbered him among their heroes, and gave him festivals; the servilists did not, on that account, cease to value their good old friend. Consistency still appears to men to be something

which is most incomprehensible; nothing, therefore, succeeds so well with them as a want of it. They love what resembles themselves. The Philistines are to-day brave, to-morrow cowardly; to-day liberal, to-morrow servile, just as the wind blows. A political writer who is like themselves, must necessarily please them.

Yet the great Krug of Leipzig has lost all his popularity. He, it is true, is no fine declaimer like Zschokke, but only a coarse babbler; but he possesses qualities much liked by the Philistines, he is bold when there is no danger, but very pacific when danger approaches. He is just what the political time-servers of Germany like. It seems, however, that he has offended the people by giving them too much advice. Zschokke persuades with his sweet tongue; Krug lectures in an arrogant and tedious manner.

The class of 'liberal bawlers,' of whom we know that, like some dogs, they bark but never bite, and of the 'political glue-makers,' who attempt to conglomerate by a lovely charm irreconcilable elements, is very numerous in Germany. There is no country or no province, in which there are not some authors who are officers of state, and who yet put on the mask of liberalism, a procedure which is repaid by the loyal admonitions of moderation given by some liberal burghers. Compliments are still with us almost more plentiful than reproaches.

We must discriminate between these attempts at conciliation and the pure political empirism which merely repeats, and abstains from using its

own opinions. This is the tendency of Pölitz[9], A. Müller, and some other collectors and arrangers of political literature. This is also the tendency of the Augsburg Universal Gazette (*Die Allgemeine Zeitung*), as it was formerly of the Hamburg Impartial Correspondent. It is worthy of notice that the most celebrated and widely circulated papers were, and still are, of this cast. Nothing else was possible in the state of Germany. The impartiality of these papers is, it is true, of a very fluctuating description; the weathercock is fixed to the tongue of the balance; but in states, where, were it not for them, nothing at all would be heard about foreign countries, men are glad to get hold of as much as the lighter scale contains. To do justice to the Augsburg Gazette, we should not travel westwards, but eastwards from Augsburg.

Some teachers of public law, especially Zachariae[1] in Heidelberg, belong to the class of empirics. He takes the state just as it is, not as it ought to be, and makes it dependent neither upon a primitive human right nor upon the conditions of nationality. It must be confessed, that

[9] Carl Heinrich Ludwig Pölitz, born at Ernsthal-Schönberg, August 17th, 1772; died February 24th, 1838: History of the Kingdom of Saxony; Manual of Universal History; History of the Sovereign States of the German Confederacy; The State Sciences as received by our age; Lectures on the State Sciences; Constitution of Europe since 1789, &c. &c.

[1] Karl Solomon Zachariae, born at Meissen, September 14th, 1769; alive; professor of law in Heidelberg: Manual of French Civil Law; works on statistics; Sulla, the Founder of Roman Freedom; Unity of the State and the Church.

an empirism like this is quite suited for an age and country in which we can find neither men nor a nation, but only members of the state—subjects. On individual points, Zachariae gives advice distinguished as much for its propriety as for its acuteness.

Rehberg, who, along with Burke and Genz, formerly combated the French Revolution, occupies a very peculiar position, but like Freiherr von Stein, he always wished for reforms suited to the age, in favour of which he has lately spoken boldly out in his Fantasies. It is a pity that he has only occasionally connected his opinions with individual objects, and has not proceeded in a systematic manner. Yet he is not a little distinguished, inasmuch as he finds fault with both parties.

The 'reconciliation of the extremes,' on which Herr von Ancillon has written[2], admits of constitutional forms which are quite ineffective and powerless, as a surrogate, and as it were a discharger of reforms; it is, therefore, directly opposed to the tendency of a former Prussian minister, the Freiherr von Stein, who did not care about constitutional reforms, but who desired, and in part effected reforms, which, though of

[2] Jean Pierre Frederic von Ancillon, descended of a French protestant family which left France upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, was born at Berlin, April 30th, 1766; died at Berlin, April 19th, 1837: Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie; Pensées sur l'homme; Zur Vermittlung der beiden Extremen.

more practical use, were still consistent with the existence of an absolute monarchy.

Let us now pass on to the administration of justice.

German jurisprudence, which has arisen out of the Roman law and countless local privileges and customs, has long been acknowledged to be a monster, a diseased excrescence of the body politic and literary. Turn to the famous words of Goethe in his Faust:—

> "For human laws and rights from sire to son
> Flow like an endless heired sickness on,"

though Goethe himself, as a minister, hated all reform, and anxiously strove to maintain old customs and laws.

The faculty of law was, in Catholic times, connected with that of theology. Law, therefore, has many features in common with theology; it has the same apparatus of philology and history, its Bible and its symbolical books, its expository and exegetical commentaries, its schools and its castes. Those who adhere to the Roman law,—the Romanists,—may be compared to the Catholics: the Protestants, on the contrary, are the adherents of the German law; while the friends of a public administration of justice resemble the reformed church; the adherents of the various provincial statutory laws, which still retain many features of the Roman law,—the Lutherans.

The fundamental principle of the Romanists is, to base law upon logic. They treat it, conse-

quently, as a science, as a study, thus forming a learned caste, a sort of priesthood of law, from which springs forth a particular form of the administration of justice. Neither the common people, nor the conscience which dwells in every breast, and to which a mutual confidence intrusts the office of pronouncing judgment, can judge: the initiated, the learned, are those alone who can and may judge and decide. Those, consequently, who are initiated, cannot derive their authority for judging from the people, but merely from the authority of science, which is, in its turn, personified, along with every other supreme authority, in the majesty which is independent of the people. This party looked at first upon the *sacra majestas* as the origin of all law, as a juridical papal power, the sacred chair of the judge; then as a juridical priesthood, which instructs the uninitiated in law, and which is partly composed of judges, corresponding to the episcopal clergy, partly of advocates, corresponding to the monastic clergy, using that term in that peculiar meaning in which it is done when applied to the begging friars and jesuits. Further, this party looks upon the *Corpus Juris* as the universal canon, and upon its historical and critical commentators as the fathers and the scholastics. To conclude, it will claim in the temple of Themis a separate niche, a holy of holies, in which the priests may stand exalted above the people, bestowing blessings upon and receiving votive offerings from the gaping crowd.

As the Reformation originated with the monks, the advocates are most inclined for a reformation

of the law. The new party elevate conscience, as opposed to science, to the dignity of a principle; republican publicity, as opposed to the exclusiveness of castes, to the form of law; just as Protestantism leads us away from the priests to our own heart, from the atrium into the very nave, into the independent and equal community of Christians. This party may be named the Germanists in contrast with the Romanists.

The Germanists, in so far as they elevate conscience to the rank of a principle, and publicity to that of a form of law, lean to the side of democracy. They look upon the examination of legal points, as a quality natural and common to all men. Judgments are pronounced, not by an aristocracy of learned men, but by common people. The people, consequently, use their own authority in doing so, so that the power of making laws is one of the privileges of the sovereignty of the people. The opening of the courts of justice is nothing but a natural consequence of this principle.

The Romanists, in so far as they elevate absolute logic to the rank of a principle of law, thus founding a science of law, which can be known only by those who devote themselves to its study, lean to the side of aristocracy. Inasmuch, however, as they, in this system, must connect everything with one absolute principle, an absolute power which can carry it out, will be the only thing which can correspond to it,—this power is despotism. Democracy cannot accommodate itself to the decision of an individual, so that each

absolute position is nothing more than one voice. Monarchy cannot accommodate itself to the opinions of many, so that every decision of the conscience is fitted for all voices. Consequently the Roman law must tend to aristocracy, the German law to freedom, which latter is, in the form in which it has of late been revived, suited only for those states which have representative assemblies.

Legal questions are, therefore, also political ones. The controversy respecting the principle and the form of law is of exactly the same kind as that about the principle and the form of government. Representative states possess a literature of public law; despotic ones only one of secret law. German literature can still show an enormous preponderance of the latter.

The fact, that the Romanists are always cosmopolitans, or members of one universal law-church, while the Germanists are always nationalists, or members of one nation, is not without importance. Absolute jurisprudence has as little to do with the peculiarities of other nations, as absolute theology. There is but one God and but one law. A religion to be right must be fitted for all nations. If there is to be only one jurisprudence, it must be such that every people may be judged by it. This applies to the Roman law as well as to Catholicism, for both have always been taught to barbarous nations with fire and sword, or with a gentle zeal for conversion, from which much good has arisen, as well as much evil; for the heart of the nations has lost its strength in con-

sequence of the iron consistency of the universal dogmas; or consistency and nature have made an agreement with each other, each modelling itself a little, in imitation of the other, so that a cultivated and refined has taken the place of a rude and uncultivated barbarism.

In the public courts of justice, on the contrary, the dispositions of the people, the customs of the country, must have the entire control of decisions in law cases. I clearly see all the disadvantages attendant upon this course of proceeding. By acting thus, all the prejudices, all the unpolished feelings of the nation, will be fostered, if they have not within themselves a desire for intellectual development, which may spur them on in their course. There is, however, a very passable middle course between the strict logic of science and the rude customs of the people, just as there is between the tyranny of the Roman sway and the barbarism of the Iroquese. Who can say that he possesses the pure light? Those Romanists, perhaps, who have banished our good old code of laws, or those jesuits who gilt Paraguay with the symbol of their sun? We have no wish to remain in darkness, but as the primitive light is, when refracted, decompounded into colours, we shall again be able to purify the light of law from the adventitious colours of the nation. A sound and healthy development of the powers of the nation is the only thing which leads to culture and science. Where science and customs are in a state of hostile separation, they will be destroyed in two ways.

Immense injury to the people is caused in two ways by the principles of the Romanists. Inasmuch as they form a sacred priesthood, the people are not entitled to take any share in the affairs of the law, for this self-activity would do away with that privilege, as every democracy does with the aristocracy. Inasmuch, however, as the jurisprudence of the Romanists requires a lifetime to study it, the people cannot possibly become acquainted with this law in all its extent. Detriment, nay, perhaps even disgrace, will manifestly be the result, of a people being unacquainted with, I will not say its own law, but only, the law by which it is judged. The ancients, not only the Greeks, but even the Teutonic nations, gave their young men early instructions in law; and what object of instruction, except the knowledge of God and nature, can be more wholesome, and a more worthy preparation for entering upon the active duties of life, than an acquaintance with law? But we must reproach our schools with leaving our young in total ignorance of law; for what could they teach them? those laws, perhaps, which the government itself often forgets, because they are too numerous, and which often vanish away amidst the fingers of the law-makers, in such a way, that they do not recollect till the third session, that they have passed some law in the second, without observing, that, during the first, they passed one exactly the opposite, which is not yet repealed; so that yea and nay both stand on the statute-book? Of what use would it be to impart to boys, or even to the people, a know-

ledge of even the simplest laws, seeing that in life they must passively receive from the *caste* just what it chooses to give them? That would be as bad as to educate the children as Protestants, and yet make them practise Catholic rites.

The Roman laws, and those derived from them, are still ill-understood by the people, in consequence of their being written in the Latin language. Every one knows what a stern resistance the Roman advocates met in their first attempt to enter Germany, under Varus, at the Weser; and in their second, fifteen hundred years later, during the middle ages; and even yet the people dislike the Roman legal procedure, the terminology of which is utterly unintelligible to them. This language has driven law from the conscience to the intellect of the initiated, and the administration of justice from life into paper.

The whole of the monstrous fabric of the law of the middle ages, those countless laws respecting the church, feudal rights, the emperors, the provinces, the towns and the peasants, and those adventitious privileges of ranks and persons, have at last all crumbled to the ground; but there still remain standing large fragments, to which new buildings have been attached, in consequence of our being either unable or unwilling to lay a foundation entirely new. A strange medley of law-books has arisen, which look like old cities in which black Gothic ruins stand side by side with pleasure-seats newly white-washed. Diets of princes have usurped the place of the imperial

power; concordats have displaced that of the pope. Monasteries as well as bondage have been abolished by order of the cabinets. The Roman law came again into notice when the princes gained power, for it is in exact correspondence with their tendency. The ruins of the empire which remain, still bear marks of the old law. The new has attached itself to both, either because the necessity of the age forced itself upon the legislators, or because the *humane* spirit of a Friedrich II. or a Joseph II. acknowledged that this was but reasonable. The new laws for the provinces (*Landrechte*) have been drawn up with these views; and they are still, like the age itself, in process of modification by thousands of influences and a constant spirit of change.

They form the connection, or at least fill up the chasm, which lies between the Roman and the public law. The public administration of justice has public opinion in its favour, though it has as yet been carried into practical operation in only a small part of Germany. We have, unfortunately, received only in the shape of a present from foreigners, what was originally our own production and property. The Code Napoléon, and its accompanying forms of process, have remained with some German tribes as a good souvenir of a bad age. The French Republic adopted the form of a public administration of the law, because it has always proved the most natural plan, and that most suited to freedom and a well-governed community. The English have long enjoyed this invaluable form, which they have inherited from

their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, with whom, as with all other German tribes, it was indigenous. Form is here, as everywhere else, to such an extent the supporter of the spirit, that the appearance of juries seems to strike the whole Roman law with utter dismay. Attention has often been directed to this object, and men's minds have not remained cold. The Romanists and officials, who have become grey amidst quotations and acts, have presumptuously set themselves up in opposition to the inborn feelings of the provinces beyond the Rhine; and the advocates of the Rhenish countries have replied with a natural wit, which does honour to their talents.

The party which advocates a public administration of justice, has been indirectly supported by the historical jurists, who, by bringing to light and commenting upon the old German laws—those laws which prove the origin, the age, and the advantages of open courts—make it clear, that open courts for the people are of older date in Germany than secret paper chambers; that life is older than books, and law than lawyers.

The Romanists have long been opposed to the German law. During the middle ages they deprived it of its regular structure, by falsifying it and mixing it up with Roman principles. After the Reformation, they endeavoured to supersede it altogether, by attempting to force the Roman law in its place. The learned zeal of the humanists in the universities contributed very much to bring about this result. They had gained so much fame by their editions of, commentaries

upon, and universal diffusion of the classics, that they fancied it was their duty to restore to its original purity, and introduce to the modern world, the Roman, which they believed to be the only classical code of laws.

The noble enthusiasm shown for the serene and peaceful world of antiquity was here turned into a curse. Tortures and racks, formerly unknown, and a form of procedure inexpressibly tedious and capricious, supplanted the old, honest, and just laws of our country. These laws no longer possessed any power; club-law (*Faustrecht*) had cramped their energy. Club-law now ceased, but injustice, under the form of law, occupied the place of justice. The Roman law was nothing but a weapon of the powerful, by means of which they could torture the weak to any extent, under legal forms, without ever affording them the slightest redress. For it created crime by the use of torture, and judged in secret by a strange law which was known to the initiated alone. Innocenee was of no avail when confronted by the rack and the secret tribunal. The horrors of that old system of jurisprudence have been indissolubly linked with the names of the witch-trials and the horrid criminal judge Carpzow.

Thomasius, who wished to introduce a rational code of laws, and Heineccius[3], who was the first who investigated profoundly, and arranged scien-

[3] Johann Gottlieb Heineccius (properly Heincke), born at Eisenberg in Altenberg, Sept. 11th, 1681; died, Aug. 31st, 1741: Elementa Juris Civilis secundum ordinem institutiones Pandectorum; various other works on civil law.

tifically, the old German laws, were the first who ever dreamed of opposing the old course of procedure. But the rational discourses of the former and the historical deductions of the latter were of little avail. Yet the Roman law was, in practice, obliged to accommodate itself to the old German feudal rights which were maintained by the aristocracy. This semibarbarian empirism, which was opposed to the purely classical humanism of the theorists, is connected with the name of Böhmer[4]. When, however, the aristocracy were, during last century, dispossessed by the princes of all the power which they formerly had, the Roman law had to be accommodated to the new sway, and to be modified by cabinet orders. But as the study of philosophy was, about the same time, more zealously pursued, this enthusiasm took possession also of jurisprudence, so that men no longer attempted to represent the Roman law in an historical manner as a treasure of the most excellent experiences, but, philosophically, as the absolute Right, the eternal and Divine law. Hugo[5] proceeded upon this fixed idea, which is, it is true, one very natural to the age of absolute monarchies. In fact, the Roman law is more

[4] Johann Friedrich Böhmer, born at Frankfort on the Maine, in 1795; alive there, librarian: Laws of the Empire, from 900 to 1402; Original Documents of the Carlovingians; Original Documents of the Kings and Emperors of the Romans, from 911 to 1313.

[5] Gustaf Ritter von Hugo, born in Baden, Nov. 25th, 1764; alive; professor of law in Göttingen; Compendium of a Course of Law; Manual of Law.

compatible with that modern absolutism, which is so common in government and in philosophy, than with the romanticism in aristocracy and poetry, which was usual during the middle ages. Hugo alone has gone so far in his classical zeal as to recall the age of slavery. It is very consistent and honest in him, but it is rather ridiculous. English ships cruise on every sea to free the unfortunate slaves who are secretly transported from one quarter of the globe to another, while Hugo of Göttingen, a German professor in one of the most polished cities of the world, expresses himself with all possible earnestness and gravity in favour of bringing back slavery.

Hugo, however, being a theorist, has not had so much influence as Feuerbach[6], the celebrated Romanist, who has immortalized his name by the well-known penal laws, and especially those on high treason in Bavaria, and by abolishing the trial by jury on the right bank of the Rhine. Though the exceedingly acute distinctions and subdivisions in his code of laws relating to high treason, betoken by their minute character a German, or rather a Dutch, origin,—for they can be compared to nothing but Swammerdam's anatomical examination of the caterpillar, in which he discovered and gave a particular description of twelve hundred nerves,—yet it cannot be denied that he is distinguished by a great love

[6] Paul Johann Anselm von Feuerbach, born at Frankfort on the Maine, Nov. 14th, 1775; died, ibid, May 29th, 1833: Remarkable Criminal Cases; Criminal-Code (for Bavaria); Casper Hauser, or an Example of a Crime against the Soul.

of Romanism, nay, even by a fanaticism for Roman classicism; for he went so far as to transplant from the age of the Roman emperors to our own age and to German ground, the divine worship paid to the emperor, which had long since been banished by Christianity, and the juridical idolatry which had long before been abolished by theology. This was the last and highest triumph of the Roman law in Germany, though Savigny has not yet written a treatise on it.

The second great action of the great Feuerbach, was the sentence of condemnation which he pronounced against the trial by jury. Every one knows that public administration of justice and the verdict of a jury chosen by the people are old German institutions. The Anglo-Saxons introduced them into England, where they still continue to this day. The Franks took them to Gaul, where they sunk under the oppression of feudalism and despotism; but the French again reassumed them in their last great revolution. In consequence of the French having subdued the left bank of the Rhine, they were restored to that district of country, where they became so popular, and were so generally acknowledged as a valuable palladium, that not only the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces were opposed to their abolition, but even a multitude of voices on the right bank were raised in their favour. But as Feuerbach, who was intrusted with the decision, and who was sent over the Rhine to investigate the matter, was one of the most influential lawyers that were opposed to this institution, he decreed that it was

unsuitable to the spirit of the age and the state of Germany, though he did not deny that it would do very well for pure republics. The most striking feature of this controversy was the strange circumstance, that the opposite party was,—I will not say, made the judge, but, at least, that a question which can be answered only by the general feeling of a whole age, by an energetic tendency of the public life, in short, by history itself, —made dependent upon the accidental and one-sided reply of a German scholar. Do we then still really live in an age in which men imagine, that a wise German university pope can, in a few smooth words, decide, with all peace and innocence, disputes, about which other nations have fought for centuries, have overturned and founded empires, and which have given to the history of the world a totally new turn? It was German scholars who gave an *a priori* decision on the lawfulness of the French Revolution, after it was long past. History is very uncourteous in not taking the advice of the German faculties before it really comes to pass. How many of the disorders of the world must be ascribed to this circumstance! How nicely would everything go on, did men follow the advice of the good professor! The world would then glide on as warmly in its loyal and comfortable path, as a privy-court-councillor does into his new furred gown. Yet if there were not men and people who really did something, those German professors would at last be in the melancholy situation of having nothing to talk about, nothing to blame, nothing to ad-

vise, and nothing to instruct. Were there no striving in the world, they could no longer exercise the great art of balancing between two parties, of being thoroughly loyal, yet at the same time liberal, of meriting from the princes an order of knighthood, from the liberals a silver goblet.

The arguments which Herr von Feuerbach uses when opposing the institution of juries, are worth nothing. That this mode of administering justice is not suited for despotic states, is true only in so far as there are no laws at all for such a state, in which it is in the power of the monarch to destroy every possible form of law. But if the author imagine that the institution of a public administration of justice is better fitted for republics than for constitutional monarchies, he is very much mistaken. There can be no better guarantee for the independence of courts of law than their existence in a state in which the monarchical is kept in check by the democratical principle. The courts cannot be independent in those states in which this balance does not obtain. They are not so in absolute monarchies, in which the monarchical principle alone reigns; neither are they so in republics, where democracy bears sole sway. In the former case the judges are mere hireling dependents of the despots; in the latter they will always be inclined to ostracism and political justicial murders. It is only in states which possess constitutional representations that courts of law can be preserved both from secrecy and caprice of despotic sway, and from tumultuous partiality; and in them alone can they main-

tain the form of assizes,—perfect both inwardly and outwardly, and thoroughly suited for a civilized state of society.

History, itself, will decide on this point. There is one kind of political longing, the fulfilment of which lies only in the kingdom of dreams; but there is also another, which is certain to be realized the moment it is born. Certain political reforms will be quietly adopted by mutual consent, notwithstanding the continuance of the combat; like two duellists, who fight in mortal struggle, yet all the while adhere to certain rules, which are advantageous to both. The fact, that not only the English and French, but even the Germans who live upon the banks of the Rhine, looked upon trial by jury as a second nature, from the instant they became acquainted with it, and were averse to give it up at any cost,—this fact alone proves how little certain gentlemen have looked from their heaps of acts of assemblies, among the people, and how little they really know of their true wants, feelings, and capacity.

I felt myself compelled to look upon Hugo and Feuerbach as the characteristic Castor and Pollux of the Roman law, because in them we see most distinctly the contrast between heathen despotism and German freedom. The other Romanists, the most celebrated of whom is Thibaut[7],

[7] Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, born at Hamelin, in Hanover, January 4th, 1774; alive; professor of law in Heidelberg: The Law of the Pandects; essays on various branches of law; On the necessity for a New Civil Law in Germany.

have treated the Roman law in a more scientific and workmanlike manner, without, however, accentuating so sharply, or singling out so especially, what has always been repulsive to the inmost soul of the German, and what is now still more so to his enlightened intellect, which is daily emancipating itself more and more from the thraldom in which it has hitherto lain.

It is very remarkable that the Roman law, which has now intrenched itself in Germany, should direct attacks from thence against the Teutonic institutions which are found in England and France —a state of things, the very reverse of what we meet with in the middle ages, when, as was natural, the German law defended itself in Germany against the Roman law, which attempted to find an entrance from Romanic countries. This is not the only, yet neither is it the most unimportant proof of the false position in which we at present are. We have been deprived of our good laws, which are now enjoyed by foreigners; and we torment ourselves with the bad laws introduced by foreigners; yet we pride ourselves on doing so, and will not part with them.

The shortcomings and deficiencies of the past system of the administration of justice are exposed at greatest length in the anonymous work, The Administration of Justice in Germany (Altenburg, 1831). The aphorisms of Jassoy on this subject are also very excellent.

As at the age of the Reformation the rational criticism of Luther was aided and assisted by the attention paid to church history, especially by the

Centuriæ Magdeburgenses, edited by Flacius, so in like manner the great law reformer, Thomasius of Halle, was supported by the profound investigations into the history of German law made by Heineccius, likewise of Halle. His Latin work on the Antiquities of German Law, one by the by which is almost forgotten, was long the best on the subject; indeed, it remained unsurpassed till the publication of the extensive work of Eichhorn, who traced the development of public and private law through the whole course of German history. Since his time there have been published excellent works on the Roman law in the middle ages by Savigny, on the German private law by Mittermaier, on the antiquities of German law, with a particular reference to language and morals, by Jacob Grimm, on the law of succession (in the widest sense of the word) by Gans[8]; to which must be added the older works on the history of law by Selchov, Walch, Reitemeier, Fischer, Rössig, Henke, the modern histories of law by Philipps and Zöpfl, the essays on the public judicial procedure of our ancestors by Rogge and Maurer, on bondage and feudal tenures by Kindlinger, Moser, Birnbaum, &c.; not to mention the commentaries on the ancient German laws by Spangenberg, Wiarda, Gaupp, Schmidt, &c.

[8] Edward Gans, born at Berlin, March 22nd, 1798; died ibid, May 5th, 1838: The Law of Succession as developed in the Progress of History; System of Roman Civil Law; Law of Possession.

Among the many particular questions which have been discussed in our juridical literature, that of man's responsibility for his actions has been of especial importance. Physicians and lawyers have differed on this point. The former have bewailed the countless number of judicial murders which have been committed, in punishing with the utmost rigour of the law, crimes which have been committed only in passion, in madness, or with a good intention, by men formerly very moral, and who have been infatuated when engaged in the crime. They say, that they are sick men, who are not responsible for their actions; against whom, therefore, no punishment, but only preventive measures, should be employed, so as to prevent them from disturbing the peace of society. But the physicians have, in their philanthropic zeal, gone too far; they stretch their exculpation too far; and the lawyers now step in, and refuse to listen to any pleadings in favour of forbearance. Groos [9], of Heidelberg, the defender of mankind, endeavours, perhaps, to save too many criminals, by making them mere diseased persons,—insane. On the other hand, the well-known Jarcke protests with affected horror against the admission of any ground of exculpation whatever, holding fast by the old principle, *Fiat justitia, pereat mundus!*

[9] Friedrich Groos; alive in Heidelberg: Observations on Moral Freedom; Spirit of Psychological Medicine; On Mania without Delirium; On Responsibility; On the Principles of Psychological and Legal Medicine.

The philosopher Heinroth [1] has, strangely enough, yet perhaps only from affectation, gone even further than Jarcke, defending the foolish position—"all physical and mental diseases are nothing but the consequences of sin;", disease, therefore, which, if we agree with Groos, excuses sin, is, on the contrary, a sure proof of guilt. Did all power rest in the hands of Heinroth or Jarcke, the former would accuse, the latter condemn all men.

Reason and humanity are upon the side of Herr Groos. Every one feels this; and it is proved in thousands of ways. The practice of juries corresponds exactly with his opinions. The Gazette des Tribunaux, for example, proves in almost every page, that juries do not pronounce those guilty who can produce any of those grounds of defence which Herr Groos has mentioned. An additional confirmation of this is found in the numerous cases in which sentences are modified or annulled by the Courts of Cassation [2], and in the mitigations which in countries where there are no juries, supply their place in weakening the strictness of the law. Every man, except a Roman jurist, feels the barbarous nature of a

[1] J. C. A. Heinroth: Historical and Critical Examination of the Mysticism of all Known Nations and Ages; Principles of Criminal Psychology; Contributions to the Knowledge of Diseases of the Mind; Manual of the Health of the Mind.

[2] Court of Cassation is that tribunal in France, and some parts of Germany, to which appeals are made upon the ground of some irregularity in the proceedings of the inferior courts, &c. &c.

code of laws which views in the same light murder for love with that for robbery. Let us take an example from the work of Groos. In 1806 an actress in Berlin poisoned her two youngest children for the following reason:—She was *enciente;* as in every former case, so also in this, she was firmly convinced that she should not survive it. Her husband had complained to her that if she were to die the children would be a burden to him. He had also said that he would afterwards avail himself of these children, who were girls, so as to live upon the prostitution of their charms. In the end, he refused to acknowledge the children as his own. The mother was, perhaps, conscious that she was not quite innocent. Enough; persuaded that she should die, she resolved not to expose her darling children to her own melancholy fate, but to take them with her. She therefore poisoned them out of love; when taxed with it she confessed it freely, expressing herself with the greatest joy upon the subject. The supreme court of appeal (*Ober-Appellationssenat*) decided that she should not be punished, but yet that her relatives should make it their duty to give the authorities notice as soon as she again became pregnant, in order that measures might be taken which would prevent her from injuring any one. Every jury would undoubtedly have, in this case, pronounced a verdict of not guilty. Herr Jarcke, however, thinks she is guilty; and does not shudder at the thought of applying to the unfortunate mother, the law by which she would have been dragged on a sledge

to the place of execution, and there broken on the wheel[3].

If we appeal to the conscience, which ought to have warned the criminal even amidst the very whirlwind of his passion,—the conscience, which is presupposed to exist in every man, an assumption which will lead us to punish a passionate action, committed under the influence of passion, as much as one committed in our sober senses,—it is at least surprising that the same conscience almost always orders the jury or supreme judge of the last resort, to judge leniently of the conscience. In most cases, the judge who punishes criminals too severely for stifling the voice of conscience, commonly commits the same crime, by at the same moment stifling the voice of his own conscience.

This dispute cannot be adjusted in a scientific manner, because it leads far down into depths of psychology which are yet uninvestigated. Practically, however, it is very easily adjusted, simply by intrusting the pronunciation of verdicts to conscientious juries and the control of public opinion. No scientific or old-established rule is of any use here, because none has a sufficient basis, because several are contradictory, so that

[3] *Von unten auf gerädert.* That is, broken upon the wheel, from below upwards, incomparably a more painful and horrid death than that from above downwards; for in the latter case death instantly ensues, and the sentence of the law is spent upon a senseless corse, while in the former, death comes on by inches, the executioner beginning with the feet and advancing slowly upwards, so that it is not till he reaches some vital part that the sufferer expires.

strict consistency would lead one of them to injustice, inasmuch as it could never be made to apply to all possible cases. Every particular case requires a particular judgment; and men are generally sensible enough to hit upon the right one. Though a definite punishment were prescribed by law for every definite crime, yet it would be contrary to reason not to mitigate, or even altogether to remit, the punishment, upon taking into consideration the intention of the agent, and the accompanying circumstances. A fixed rule, however, by which these mitigations must be guided in every case, cannot possibly be laid down, for the cases are far too various. Nothing but general hints on this point can be given to the judge; his sound judgment and conscience must guide him in every particular case. Were we to surround responsibility with as many clauses as there are in England judicial formalities, we should see the same results. A criminal would be acquitted, because he had happened to drink a glass of wine before he committed the action, by which he was probably a little muddled, as in England he escapes because some words have been mis-spelt in the indictment. Or an innocent person might be condemned, because the case not having been provided for, it could not be corroborated by a paragraph of the law of responsibility; as in England the man is condemned who takes two wives, because bigamy is unlawful, while he who takes three goes untouched, because the lawmakers have not provided for such a case.

We should therefore like to be quit of all such scientific quirks, and to have nothing but juries, to whose conscience and discretion the fate of a criminal may be intrusted with far more confidence than to an insecure paragraph in a book, and who are in their turn responsible to public opinion for their verdicts, whilst dead letters defy it as much as reason itself does.

Our jurisprudence and our law-books will, in all probability, suffer for some time from four principal evils: first, from the Roman law, from a foreign, heathenish, and despotic example; secondly, from a philosophical fondness for drawing inferences, and love of systematizing; thirdly, from the exceedingly confused precedents which have been derived from feudalism and the division of our country into many petty states; and fourthly, from modern political anxiety, which devises unheard-of preventive measures, and transfers the spirit of temporary martial and police regulations into that law which is intended to govern a country during a state of peace. Many errors will probably be committed, and many unsuccessful attempts made in this respect, so that the science of law will, instead of being simplified, be only the more complicated.

The influence of political interests produce at least one good effect—that of narrowing the limits of the craving for political systems. The pedagogical experiments with nations, which were all the rage during last century, when the governments had no check to prevent them from indulging in such amusements, are now no longer

the order of the day, in consequence of the people, who have grown too old and too wise to be sent to school, having shown a spirit of resistance, the taming of which has become almost the only task of our modern politics. Political interests, therefore, are everywhere manifested in the productions of our legislators, whilst those of science are now confined to its subordinate branches. Single laws are elaborated with unspeakable art; immense learning is expended upon them; and then these masterpieces of legislatorial labour are held up to the people like a new pix. The people gape, but they understand nothing about the matter. Special interpreters are necessary to disentangle the confused mass of details; public interpreters have to be sent to the various provinces to introduce them.

The levers of the power of the state are gold and iron. These metallic kings bear absolute sway in practical life. This gives to the financial and military systems great preponderance in the management of the state. All the other branches of the administration are dependent upon and serve these two. The heroes of modern politics have been unceasing in their endeavours to discover which of these metals possesses the greater power; while the cleverest have been wise enough to make use of both.

The system of centralization is of use only in raising taxes and levying soldiers. A harmonious and compact bureaucracy is necessary to maintain a constant tabular survey of the means of the state, and of all the physical powers of its subjects,

who are the basis of all financial operations. Men are treated just like a matter of business, and are valued like cattle, just at what they will bring. Among the Russians a man's property consists in the number of souls he possesses; among us, the soul is in the property. The state is a mine, the shafts of which open into the purses of the people. The financial operations are experiments with the air-pump, which extract the air of life from the cold frog, called the people, to try how long it can sprawl and live, when it has nothing to live upon.

In past ages men were more cruel, but they were more honest. They imposed contributions upon the people; they killed the Jews or destroyed their account-books; every one took money where he could find it. But they took it only where they found it. In modern times, the great art has been found out of taking away gold from where there is none, and of contracting debts with men who do not exist. The present, with its empty purse, was no longer sufficient; men began to tax the future; and as the future has no end, they had free scope for employing the paper mills, which soon began to send forth that eternal paper, which, like a huge exchequer bill, unfolds itself with the speed of the wind, aimlessly and endlessly.

After every financial resource had been thus discovered, men have taken care to keep them flowing by a prudent distribution of taxes, and by maintaining the credit of the state. If we only shake the tree, it may bear fruit the following

year; if we cut it down, it will no longer be of any use. Men have learned by experience, that far more blood may be, by degrees, extracted from a living man, than can be at once from a dead one. We need not fatten the ox which treadeth out the corn, yet we must not muzzle him altogether. This is the cause of the great attention which our modern financiers pay to the prosperity of the people. Spare the cow that she may give more milk. The same moderation is counselled in using the credit of the state.

Men are no longer so foolish as to dispute about the ranks which ought to be assigned to physiocracy [4] (agriculture), manufactures, or commerce. We endeavour to keep them all in view, and to promote local interests by favouring one or other of them. The strange fragmentary way in which Germany is parcelled out into a multitude of large and small states, which lie beside, or are intermixed with one another, is the cause of its being more difficult with us than in

[4] Physiocracy, or the physiocratical system, was first taught by Francis Quesney (born in 1694, died in 1774), who wished thereby to ameliorate the condition of the landowners. It long attracted the attention of Europe, but is now passed away into oblivion. Its chief principles were: 1. That the earth is the source of all national revenue and property; in short, that the labour of the agriculturists is alone of value; that no other trade can increase the wealth of a nation. 2. All those subjects, therefore, are productive, who cultivate land; that artists, merchants, &c., are unproductive, because they eat what they had no share in producing; and so on. Turgot, a minister of Louis XVI., was in favour of these principles.

any other country to combine these interests. Even the Prussian custom-house league (*Zollverband*) has not been able to effect this, though it must be confessed it has made a mighty step in advance, a step which has contributed very much towards enlightening the Germans respecting their material interests.

It is the attention paid in our days to these much-talked-of material interests, which threatens to throw down all the old theories of politics. The English and French invented the new science of political economy, that is, the inquiry how a whole nation may turn to the best advantage all the means and powers which its country affords it, in order to derive from them, on the whole, as a nation, the greatest possible advantage and enjoyment. In the financial systems of former times the government and *its* aim were placed first, the people were looked upon only as a means which should assist it in attaining this end. The modern political economy, on the contrary, prefers the people and *its* aim, a course of procedure in which the interests of the government and people naturally coincide.

The boldest doctrines of liberty lie concealed in the systems of political economy. Its first principle is,—every individual has a natural right to participate in the general mass of the property and enjoyment which is to be found in his country and among his own people, in so far as he shares in the labour. Its second principle is,—the state must do everything to cause every individual to exercise his natural and acquired powers and

talents for the benefit of the community at large. Under this term must be understood also his mental powers and talents. The fundamental condition of freedom is expressed in both these principles.

The material interests, by becoming the basis of the doctrines of freedom, acquire a new and incalculable power. Men in great numbers were but seldom, and that only for a short time, idealized in a moment of great enthusiasm, which quickly vanished away; they therefore very rarely fulfilled the expectations of their political prophets. He, on the other hand, who could occupy himself with the daily interests and occupations of men, did not, it is true, occupy such a high and noble position, but he was on that very account more closely allied to the crowd, and therefore better able to gain their favour in a more lasting way. The common-place man will always prefer the fatness of the chained dog to the gnawing hunger of the free wolf among the snow-covered forests. Last century was constantly contending for ideal freedom; this one longs for material prosperity. During the romantic period, about fifty years since, when Rousseau's fanciful theories, cosmopolitanism and the explanation of the rights of men, were all rife, it was fancied that people could live on freedom as the knights of chivalry did on love. Don Quixote, however, discovered that the knight, after having performed a sufficient number of gallant deeds, or having wandered about in an enamoured dream, must eat, requires to have his linen washed, and

such like trifles. In like manner, men have at last observed that the people will no longer be satisfied with mere empty freedom; and have, with some asotnishment, discovered that the union of freedom with the material weal is no such easy matter. If we allow every one the freedom of becoming as rich as he can by talent and fortune, by adventurous speculation, a clever use of opportunities, or by supplanting others, there will arise a disproportion between riches and poverty, in which freedom will perish, for the poor man, though he has equal rights, can use them only by the permission of the rich man, whose bread he eats, and upon whom he becomes politically dependent in consequence of his dependence upon him for subsistence; so that we must have, even in the midst of a republic, an aristocracy of wealth, which is nowise inferior to that of the feudal barons of the middle ages. If, however, we prevent men from becoming rich, we endanger the very existence of freedom. We bear poverty lightly, if we can but see any prospect of a change of fortune. We may even be ready to renounce riches, if it be only our own sacrifice—a sacrifice which we ourselves make. But to be condemned to spend no more than our neighbour, that would cripple all ambition; that would take away every charm from labour. A Robespierre, an enthusiast, a mad philosopher, may devise such-like fancies at his desk, and he probably would not bewail his own lot, were he, with his dear fellow-citizens, chained to a galley, where he daily got a little black broth as his ration; but the great majority of men, espe-

cially of labourers, of the poor and of small proprietors, do not think so systematically; they, therefore, will never allow themselves to be deprived of the poetry of poverty, the hopes and golden dreams of future happiness. Even were they all to receive a promise of getting five hundred florins a year, those who have one hundred would not accept the offer, were they thereby to be deprived of the possibility of having one day a thousand.

Yet moveable as well as heritable property is threatened with a *lex agraria*. The unnatural wealth of a few increases in proportion as the means of becoming rich are concentrated in one hand. In former times the feudal baron could become rich only by agriculture, the merchant by commerce, and perhaps the dishonest chancellor of the exchequer, by embezzling the public money; now, however, the same person may purchase the largest estates in ten different countries, may erect manufactories and counting-houses at ten different places, build ships, undertake contracts, and besides all this, purchase kingdoms in stock-jobbing. This immense accumulation of property on the one side produces a corresponding diminution of it on the other. This is most felt in the freest lands; from this cause proceeds the struggle of the rich against the poor, the trades' unions and the folly of the St. Simonists. People are now beginning to see that everything cannot be done with paper—laws and constitution —that, in one word, men to live FREE, must first be able to LIVE; and that to guarantee the existence

of the yearly-increasing mass of the population, we need other labours, and a totally new science, in the presence of which our past political wisdom falls back ashamed. Sieyes, who was, beyond all dispute, the greatest political theorist of the French Revolution, thought that he had finished everything, that he had really found out the best system of government; he was in the very act of communicating to the National Assembly this discovery, which would satisfy all, and leave nothing to be wished for, when the mob without shouted out 'bread! bread!' Was there any mention of bread in Sieyes' plan? No! it was never once mentioned. Thus it is with our whole political architecture. We become aware, with terror, that there was a fault in the foundation, so that when we imagine we have finished it above, it begins to shake below.

The most probable result will be, that it will fare with the poor as with all earthly things. The poor will be allowed to suffer, without the rich taking any interest in the matter, till they themselves begin to grow afraid. Then the rich will suddenly affect, or even really feel an interest in the poor, only, however, in order to ward off the danger which is threatened them by the poor. There will then be a great deal of tittle-tattle, advice will be given, and then retracted; sacrifices will be made which will not be thought sufficient; greater ones will then be asked, but not made, and men will, in the end, hold by what they have, even though everything should thereby go to wreck. Men will then be no longer able to control events; the poor will,

perhaps, attack and rob the rich; perhaps we shall, also, in order to provide for the future, see all the follies of bygone times return—community of goods—of women—public meals—the *maximum*, that is, capital punishment for every one who possesses more than fifty francs in silver; suspicion of every coat of fine or unpatched cloth; or the modern follies of the St. Simonists, school-keeping, prize-awarding, and distribution of national water-gruel, of which every one, who has been very assiduous, gets a piece of meat, the others get only pure water. It would be strange, were mankind, which is so systematical, and which wishes to make every momentary accident an eternal rule, not to use every endeavour to effect an universal levelling of property. But it is certain that all these can be but passing phenomena, that the aristocracy of wealth will always prevail anew, again to suffer from some new species of violence, when it has reached a point at which it can no longer be endured.

Our most celebrated works on finance have been written, first by the physiocratists, or scholars of Quesney—Schlettwein[5], Iselin, Mauvillon[6], Schmalz, and their opponents Büsch, Dohm, Pfeiffer, Schlosser; secondly, by the *industriels*,

[5] Johann August Schlettwein, born at Weimar, 1731: Principles of Statistics and Political Economy; Rights of Men; Archives for Men and Citizens (1780–88).

[6] Jacob Mauvillon, born at Leipzig, March 8th, 1743; died at Braunschweig, Jan. 11th, 1774; Letters on Physiocracy (addressed to Dohm); Introduction to the Military Sciences; Description of Prussia under Frederick the Great.

or scholars of Adam Smith—Sartorius, Lüder[7] Krause, A. Müller; thirdly, by the systematic teachers of the science of finance, who wrote with that profound and plodding spirit peculiar to the Germans—Jacob[8], Malchus[9], Zachariae, Schön, &c.; fourthly, by the new political economists, Rau[1], Kraus, &c. Of single works, we must also mention the excellent book, 'Prussia and France', a comparison of the resources and government of the two countries, by Hansemann[2], an extensive work on national debt by Baumstark[3], the statistics of population, by Biunde.

The whole of this literature is of very modern

[7] A. F. Lüder, born in 17—; died at Jena, Feb. 27th, 1819: History of the Principal Nations of Antiquity; On National Industry and Government.

[8] Ludwig Heinrich von Jacob, born Feb. 26th, 1759; died, July 22nd, 1827: Stadts-finanz-wissenchaft; On the Immortality of the Soul; On the Existence of God; Manual of Empirical Psychology.

[9] Karl August Freiherr von Malchus, born at Mannheim, Sept. 27th, 1770; if alive, in Heidelberg: On the Government of the Kingdom of Westphalia; On the Organism of Internal Government; Statistics, &c.; Manual of the Sciences of Finance.

[1] Christian Rau, born at Leipzig, May 5th, 1744; died, Jan. 22nd, 1818: Manual of Political Economy; Archives of Political Economy; Sketches.

[2] David Hansemann, born at Finkenwerder, near Hamburg, Jan. 12th, 1790; alive; president of the Chamber of Commerce in Auchin (Aix-la-Chapelle): Prussia and France viewed with regard to Political Economy and Policy; several pamphlets on railways.

[3] ——— Baumstark; alive; professor of state sciences in Greifswald.

date. A greater number of, and far better, works on finances and political economy will, in all probability, be written during the next fifty years, than were written during the last fifty.

The same will also apply to the literature which treats of the police, of the amelioration of the country, of public morality and safety, of the reform of our houses of correction, our public charities, our poor-houses, hospitals, and infirmaries. In these respects our progress is undeniable. To the Dutch is due the glory of having been, two hundred years ago, the first to enter upon this path. The first houses of correction, infirmaries, and poor-houses, were erected in Amsterdam and other Calvinistic and republican towns; the Lutheran and monarchical cities imitated their example but slowly, while the Catholics remained longest behind. Of late years the insane, the deaf and dumb, and the blind, have also been taken greater care of. We may hope that all these isolated exertions of mankind will soon be united in one systematic whole, which will be acknowledged as one of the first duties of every state.

The improvement of the country, and facility of communication, are also making rapid progress. Germany has quite changed its appearance. Countless splendid roads intersect it; stage-coaches are flying through it; steam-boats are sailing upon all our great rivers and lakes; at present we are everywhere forming railroads. Promenades, public buildings, improvements of rivers and roads, give undeniable proofs of our endeavours after greater splendour and harmony

in our outward condition; yet all these works are not sufficiently interpenetrated with a good, and, above all, with a national taste.

A few words before we finish, on military writings.

The science of war properly so called, did not arise till the era of the Reformation, at which time the art of besieging cities, and the tactics of battles, were really perfected by the invention of powder and the regular discipline of paid troops. The first great work on the art of war was published by Fronsberger of Ulm, 1535. This was followed by several military works of the jesuits, who, on the catholic side, vied with the protestant imperial cities in the art of war, until the thirty years' war did away with the works of the former, which were rather crude attempts, and introduced into military affairs a nobler and more independent style. It was no longer single surveyors, clever burghers, or learned mathematicians, who, in petty warfare, pointed out difficult modes of attack and defence, but great generals were formed in war itself, and at the head of great armies.

During the thirty years' war, however, matters were carried on too practically for science to be able to follow closely after their footsteps. The tedious struggles upon the comparatively limited stage of the Netherlands, were better fitted for being treated in a scientific manner; this, too, was the school in which foreigners learned the art of war. During the seventeenth century the Dutchman Cohorn distinguished himself by his

knowledge of this science; Rimpler was celebrated among the Germans. After the Spanish war of succession, theories, as always happens after every great event, received a new impulse, and Moritz[4] of Saxony founded a new and scientific system of tactics.

The seven years' war was, in like manner, followed by new theories. Frederick the Great wrote on his own campaigns, while Tempelhof[5], &c., explained them more according to the system of the schools.

It is here that we first meet with a crisis. The Prussian system was too exclusive, too tyrannical and onesided not to engender an opposition. In addition to the passages in the philanthropic work of the teacher Salzmann (Karl von Karlsberg), which attacked the military system of the second half of last century on the ground of its immorality, there were published Natural Dialogues, in which the abuses which had been caused by the application of the Prussian system to small states, were described by an anonymous author, with biting satire. We must not forget to mention, that public opinion expressed itself in novels, plays, &c., tamely indeed, yet plainly enough, against the evils inseparable from the recruiting system,—the selling of German troops to be sent to the English colonies, the brutal con-

[4] Moritz Graf von Sachsen (Marshal Saxe), born at Goslar in Prussia, Oct. 28th, 1696; died at Chambaud in France, Nov. 30th, 1750: Reveries.

[5] Georg Friedrich von Tempelhof, born in 1737; died in 1807: History of the Seven Years' War.

duct of the noble officers, the minute attendance to dress required from the soldiers, the whipping post, the running the gauntlet, &c.

The Prussian military machine introduced by the Great Frederick, was quite suited to his age; it was cleverly and ingeniously put together, composed of the materials which he could command, and inspired by his spirit. But when he was gone, the machine stood still; it was no longer suited for the age. Bondsmen under their feudal masters, and the hired dregs of foreign nations, strictly disciplined, composed Frederick's army; his greatness, his glory, his popularity, were the only things which held them together. The century, however, mean time progressed; the burghers made themselves of more importance, and with them the principle of nationality and a natural power began to be formed, which soon entered into conflict with the artificial features of the past.

During the French Revolution the national citizenship (*Bürgerthum-bourgeoisie*) exalted itself, and destroyed the old standing armies of mercenaries or bondsmen compelled to serve. It was long before men would admit the causes which had produced those results. Berenhorst was the first, who, 1798, published a work, in which he, inspired by these views, expressly advocated a national armament and a complete reform of the military system. He was followed in a few years by the original and talented Heinrich von Bülow [6],

[6] Heinrich Freiherr von Bülow, born at Falkenberg, in

who, with his eagle eye, surveyed the field as well as Napoleon; but he could not act, he could only speak; and he met with a martyr's death for his speeches. There has not yet been erected on German soil a monument to the great Bülow, the Kepler of the art of war, who was the first to pronounce clearly and distinctly its eternal laws,—to the patriotic Bülow, who, in the age of the most dire disgrace and need, proposed the only and most effectual remedy, all those plans which were at last acted upon long after his death,—to Bülow, cruelly disgraced and murdered by stupid folly. But one will be erected; posterity will be more grateful, and will honour the few who merited honour in the age of shame.

Bülow showed how Napoleon must conquer, and how we should be obliged to learn from him the art of conquering him in the same way in which he conquered us. He showed this practically and experimentally by his critical explanation of real campaigns, as well as theoretically by his mathematically clear and irrefragable system of strategy and tactics. In this he proved that a nation which was resolved, could never want means of defence. He proposed an infallible system of defence,—exactly the same as that by which Napoleon was repulsed in 1813,—the plan of a centrifugal defence, and the position of the flanks. But he was not listened to before the

the Alt-Mark (Prussia), 1760; died in prison at Riga, July, 1807: Spirit of the Ancient Systems of War; History of the Campaign of 1800; that of 1805; works on military tactics.

battle of Jena. The poor lieutenant, who wished to instruct grey-headed generals, was laughed at for his pains. He was imprisoned as a *raisonneur* when the danger approached and his advice became more pressing. The confused writings of Herr von Massenbach on the campaign of 1806, are the best testimony to the merits of Bülow. When he heard the news of the great defeat at Jena, which he had foretold, he exclaimed, "Thus go matters when generals are thrown into prison, and blockheads put at the head of armies." Such expressions had no other effect but that of exasperating the "blockheads" still more, so that the poor Bülow had to pay a heavy penalty for them. Everything, the most important documents, the most valuable stores and relics, such as the sword of Frederick the Great, were left behind; the poor Bülow alone, was not forgotten. He was carried away a prisoner in the great retreat to Russia, where the mob were told that he was a friend to the French, where, bespattered with mud, plundered, and stripped by Cossacks, he died in the greatest misery. I do not know a greater blot on German history. Ingratitude to great men can scarcely be carried further.

But justice has now been done to Bülow, if not nominally at least really. The noble Scharnhorst adopted his ideas. The system of promotions, of recruiting and whipping, ceased, and a national array was prepared, to avenge sevenfold the disgrace of Jena by the strategical and tactical principles of the great Bülow.

After the close of the war much activity was

displayed in treating theoretically of the science of war. Military journals were published; the campaigns of ancient and modern times were subjected to a new and searching criticism; particular works appeared on the use of every species of force, and in addition to the strategy, tactics, and technical conditions of an army, those of economy, constitution, and politics, were also minutely inquired into. Archduke Carl[7], the Prussian generals Clausewitz[8], Müffling[9], von Pfuel[1], &c., contributed valuable additions to the history of war. Kausler wrote a universal history of the wars of all ages. Wagner, Theobald, Xylander, examined and compared the theoretical systems—the latter viewing them with respect to their effects on a national militia and on constitutional states.

It has been said that the evils usually attendant upon standing armies in the time of peace, have not of late diminished. The wild pranks of the

[7] Carl Ludwig Erzherzog von Oesterreich, born September 5th, 1771: Principles of Strategy, illustrated by a Description of the Campaign of 1796 in Germany; History of the Campaign of 1799 in Germany and Switzerland.

[8] Carl von Clausewitz, born near Magdeburg, June 1st, 1780; died November 16th, 1830; chief of the staff to Greisenan: Review of the Campaign of 1813; On War; On the Campaign of 1796 in Italy.

[9] Friedrich Ferdinand Karl Freiherr von Müffling, formerly called Weiss, born at Halle, June 12th, 1775; Prussian general of infantry: Prussian and Russian Campaign of 1813; History of the Campaign of 1815 under Wellington and Blücher; accounts of other campaigns.

[1] Ernst von Pfuel, born at Berlin, 1780: Contributions to the History of the last French War.

aristocratic officers, the vexatious minuteness insisted on in regard to dress, a military love of frippery, which is injurious to health, a false importance attached to the veriest trifles, the number of buttons, &c., are not the only things of which people complain; a certain degree of military pedantry is also to be met with. We have heard old generals laughed at, who with their note-books (*Mappe*) under their arms, go into the lecture-room, there to learn, though they are old and grey-haired; so have we the many spectacles of young officers, who, immersed in study and the projecting of charts, lose the longing for actual fields of battle, &c.

But on the whole, our progress is undeniable. We have anew earned great glory in war, satisfied with the fame of which, we now repose on our laurels. We have a national army, which, in spite of all the possible mistakes of the government, is a true and indestructible weapon. Germany bristles with bayonets, which, however, are borne not by mercenaries or slaves, but by the people themselves; who are, it is true, strangely parcelled out, but they will soon be united by that danger which produces noble ideas, and then they will terribly avenge all the contumely which has been heaped upon this noble nation.

THE END OF VOL. II.

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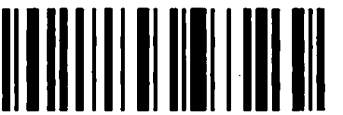
CORRIGENDA.

VOL. II.

Page 6. in note, for 'Genevra' read 'Genoveva.'
p. — in note, for 'Kranarl' read 'Kranach.'
p. 9. l. 2 from bottom, for 'assure' read 'accuse.'
p. 18. l. 15 from top, for 'and' read 'but.'
p. 28. l. 11 from bottom, place semicolon after 'rank,' in place of after 'education.'
p. 103. l. 3 from bottom, for 'Arnem' read 'Arnim.'
p. 125. l. 4 from top, for 'others' read 'other.'
p. 127. l. 19 from top, insert a comma after 'first.'
p. 144. l. 1 from bottom, for 'As' read 'A.'
p. 149. l. 2 from bottom, for 'subzehnten' read 'siebzehnte.'
p. 158. in note 6, for '1726' read '1826.'
p. 161. l. 9 from top, for 'Vorgesen' read 'Vogesen.'
p. 265. in note 2, for 'Auchin' read 'Aachen.'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